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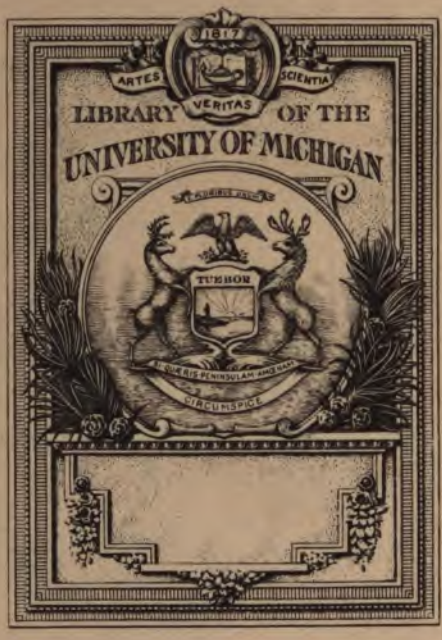
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THE WORKS

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SOMETIME

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THE

HUMILIATION OF THE SON OF GOD;

OR,

THE EIGHTH BOOK

OF

COMMENTARIES UPON THE APOSTLES' CREED.

SECTION III.

Of the harmonical parallel between the Predictions or Types of the Old Testament and the Evangelical Relations concerning our Saviour's triumphant coming unto Jerusalem, and of his Entertainment there until the Institution of his Supper.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the King of Zion's coming to Jerusalem, and how the Manner of his Coming was for Circumstance of Time prefigured by the Law or Rite of the Paschal Lamb; and for other Circumstances expressly foretold by the Prophet Zechariah.

1. AN apostle hath said it, and we must believe him, that our Saviour Christ was *Agnus occisus ab origine mundi; the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world;* and other scriptures abundantly testify that he was to be slaughtered in time, to the end that

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he might take away the sins of the world. About the indefinite or illimited truth of both these propositions, there is no controversy amongst good Christians. The limitation, notwithstanding, of both these undoubted truths requires some further disquisition; the limitation of the latter a larger treatise: the main query concerning the former is briefly this: 'From what *beginning of the world* our Saviour is said to be *Agnus occisus, the Lamb slain,*' as whether from the first beginning of time, or from the first day of the creation. To stretch *the beginning of the world* thus far, is more than the rules of true theology will warrant: for it was neither necessary nor expedient that the Son of God should be slain, or that any bloody sacrifice should have been offered, if our first parents had preserved or retained their original integrity. By *the beginning of the world* then, in our apostle's meaning, we are, I take it, to understand *the sinful world,* as it is coeval or confederate with the flesh, or the first entrance of sin into it, or rather into our nature. From the fall of our first parents, at least from their convention before their Almighty Judge and Creator, the Son of God was first destinated, and afterwards consecrated to be the Lamb of God, which was to take away the sins of the world. And of his death and passion, or other undertakings to this purpose, as well the sacrifice which righteous Abel offered out of the
838 flock, as the bloody sacrifice of himself, being butchered by his ungracious brother Cain, were true types or shadows. So was the paschal lamb, which was solemnly offered every year, once in token, afterwards in memory of the Israelites' miraculous delivery out of Egypt. The first institution and observance of this solemnity was given as a pledge or assurance unto God's chosen people, that the destroyer should not

hurt one of them, when he smote all the first-born of Egypt, both of man and beast. The same solemnity was afterwards continued in memory of that mighty deliverance which Israel had from Pharaoh and his host. Howbeit even this miraculous deliverance was but a shadow or typical assurance of that great deliverance which the Son of God in our flesh, and all God's people, in him and by him, had from the powers of hell and darkness, in that great passover wherein this true Lamb of God, predestinated to this purpose from the beginning of this world, was actually consecrated, and solemnly upon his consecration offered.

2. A question there is, but soberly handled by some good sacred antiquaries—Whether the law of the paschal lamb delivered by Moses were to be solemnized according to all the rites and circumstances which were enjoined and punctually to be observed at the time of Israel's departure out of Egypt? One branch of this law it was, that every household which was capable of eating it should take it from the flock four days before the offering of it. This separation was his consecration; and this rite or ceremony, as some good writers tell us, was observed throughout the generations, if not in the lambs offered by every private family, yet in the lamb designed or chosen for the public sacrifice in that great festival, which was brought into the city four days before the offering of it with great pomp and solemnity. But be it that the solemnity of bringing the lamb four days before the passover was to be observed only in Egypt, this will no way impair the sweet harmony between the legal type and the evangelical mystery, but rather give it a better lustre: for that passover which was celebrated in Egypt was the most illustrious peculiar type of this great passover wherein the Son of God was sacrificed for the sins of

the world. Other succeeding legal passovers were but remembrances of that great deliverance whereof the first passover in Egypt was the pledge or preassurance. And we in like sort were once for all delivered from the powers of hell and darkness by the visible blood of the new covenant; of which deliverance we are more strictly enjoined to continue a memorial, until our Mediator and Redeemer come to judgment. Now to declare unto the world that JESUS, the Son of God and of David, was the Lamb of God ordained from the beginning of the world to effect this mighty deliverance, and to fulfil the mysteries forepictured by the passover in Egypt, he came unto Jerusalem (the place appointed for this and other grand festivals) four days before the passover wherein he was sacrificed, and was brought in with greater pomp and solemnity than any paschal lamb, than any prince of Judah, at any time before had been. His attendants were more, and their respects and salutations tendered in more submissive manner, and the titles given to him much loftier, than either David his father or Solomon in all his royalty had been accustomed unto. The history of his coming is very remarkable of itself, and the circumstances, as they are variously related (yet without clashing or contradiction) by all the four evangelists, most considerable.

869 3. For the circumstance of time, which was four days before the passover, that is determinately and punctually set down by two evangelists, and may be evidently inferred out of all four. The special occasions of a great concourse of people out of several nations or provinces, which at this last passover did expect his coming, or went out of Jerusalem to meet him or wait upon him, after another guise than at any the three former passovers since his baptism had been

seen, are most fully expressed by St. John, xi. 45, 46: *Then many of the Jews which came to Mary, and had seen the things which Jesus did, believed on him. But some of them went their ways to the Pharisees, and told them what things Jesus had done.* John xii. 9, 17, 18: *Much people of the Jews therefore knew that he was there: and they came not for Jesus' sake only, but that they might see Lazarus also, whom he had raised from the dead. The people therefore that was with him when he called Lazarus out of his grave, and raised him from the dead, bare record. For this cause the people also met him, for that they heard that he had done this miracle,* &c. The original occasion of this great concourse, as appears in these passages, was the irrefragable testimony of his raising Lazarus from the grave, wherein he had laid four days. The special occasions which moved the whole multitude of his disciples (that is, such as for the present did believe in him) to entertain, and did occasion others to entertain, him with those extraordinary acclamations, or other expressions of joy and exultation, (recorded by all the evangelists,) are most punctually expressed by St. Luke, chap. xix. 37, 38: *And when he was come nigh, even now at the descent of the mount of Olives, the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works that they had seen; saying, Blessed be the King that cometh in the name of the Lord: peace in heaven, and glory in the highest.* These acclamations of his followers and disciples were so loud, and their exultation (in such sinister construction as Michal made of David's dancing before the ark) so lavish, that they exasperated the Pharisees (who were but a small part of the multitude who did attend or observe his approach) unto more

uncivil behaviour towards this their King than Michal did use towards David her lord and husband, Luke xix. 39: *And some of the Pharisees from among the multitude said unto him, Master, rebuke thy disciples:* as if they had said, 'Thy disciples play the fools, and unless thou inhibit their folly, they will make thee a laughing-stock to wise men.' But his reply unto them for this their advice, though for terms and language more mild and gentle, yet for the matter or mystery implied was more sharp than David's was to Michal: ver. 40. *He answered and said unto them, I tell you that, if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out.* For this was the time wherein Jerusalem and the daughter of Zion had been commanded some hundreds of years before to rejoice after an unusual manner. And the just occasions of this extraordinary point of time above all others did require such a solemn and public testification, that if men, women, and children had been silent, the very stones in the street, the edifices and pavements in Jerusalem and Zion, must have supplied their defect. For these were appurtenances of the city which had been peremptorily injoined to shout for joy whensoever their promised and long expected King should come unto her. As the occasions of this extraordinary concourse of people,
840 and of their unusual exultation, are most fully expressed by St. John and St. Luke; so the final cause of both, or sweet disposition of Divine Providence in this whole business, is most punctually expressed by St. Matthew, chap. xxi. 4, 5: *All this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, Tell ye the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass.* The prophet, or one of the prophets at least, which did foretell all that now

happened, was Zechariah, chap. ix. 9, whose words are more full than the evangelists': *Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion: shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation*[a]*; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.* So our ordinary English translations render the place word for word; but whether this translation or others, Greek or Latin, do fully and punctually express the prophet's meaning, is in the next place to be discussed.

CHAP. XVII.

A Comment or Paraphrase upon the first eight Verses of the ninth of Zechariah; and of the Connexion betwixt them and the ninth Verse, in which the Manner of our Saviour's coming to Jerusalem was most expressly foretold.

1. THIS testimony of the prophet Zechariah (as was observed before[b]) is merely prophetical, that is, was literally meant of the Messias alone, never verified, much less fulfilled, of any king or prophet; it was a mystery without a type. Other passages in this ninth chapter, such especially as come after this ninth verse, may admit a mystical or allegorical sense: and I should like well of that allegory which Ribera and Rupertus have made upon the former verses, if they had first given us the true and literal sense. But setting aside such passages as the evangelists or apostles have expounded unto us, the best comments which are extant upon this or most other prophecies revealed or written since the building of the second temple by Zerubbabel, are for the most part made to our hands by unpartial unsuspected historians, that is, by Jews or heathens, so we Christians would take the

[a] Or, *saevd himself*, &c.

[b] The seventh Book of Commentaries, c. 6. vol. viii. p. 27.

pains to peruse, and diligently compare their narrations of matter of fact with sacred prophetical predictions. For the true and literal sense of this whole ninth chapter of Zechariah, besides the ninth verse, an ordinary scholar may better inform himself from Arrianus, Quintus Curtius, and Josephus, or others which write of Alexander's wars, than from Ribera, Rupertus, or all the professed Christian commentators which have not had the hap to consult these heathenish or Jewish historians. And some passages in the latter part of this chapter there be, unto which the history of the Maccabees (though apocrypha for matter of faith) may give great light for the right understanding of them. My purpose is only to touch upon some few such passages in the first part of this chapter as are conducent to the point in hand, that is, to make a clear and ocular demonstration how this prophecy avouched by St. Matthew, and others in this ninth chapter of Zechariah, were fulfilled.

841 2. *The burden of the word of the Lord in the land of Hadrach, and Damascus shall be the rest thereof: when the eyes of man, as of all the tribes of Israel, shall be toward the Lord. And Hamath also shall border thereby; Tyrus, and Zidon, though it be very wise. And Tyrus did build herself a strong hold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets. Behold, the Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea; and she shall be devoured with fire.* Zechariah ix. 1—4. Josephus in his book of Jewish Antiquities, briefly relating the swift success of Alexander in his war, relateth the events in the same order and method which the prophet Zechariah had foretold them in. That he first overran Syria and took Damascus, and afterward besieged Tyre, which held out nine months against

those forces which had conquered the Persians, Syrians, and other eastern parts in less space. As for the writ drawn for the execution of Tyre, you see it is punctually drawn by the prophet Zechariah, but who shall assure us that it passed the seal, or was executed according to the tenor of his commission. By *her power in the sea* the prophet meant, as the oracle in like case did, her wooden walls, or multitude of ships; and these, as Curtius tells us, being almost all sunk or taken, their chief fort was surprised by the Macedonian army. After her walls were scaled, the greatest part of her defendants, *summa tectorum obtinebant, saxa, et quod in manibus fors dederat ingerentes subeuntibus,* did annoy the assailants from the tops of their houses with stones, or whatsoever came first to hand. So this their last and desperate fury did blow the fire of God's wrath which was kindled against them, from the prophet Zechariah's time. For as this heathenish writer adds, *Alexander exceptis qui in templa confugerant, omnes interfici ignemque tectis injici jubet,* commands that all should be slain besides such as fled into the temples, that their dwellinghouses should be burnt. This great conqueror in all this war, though he expressly knew not his commission, was but God's sheriff, and (though intending no such thing) did see the execution should be according to the prophet's sentence. How much Tyrian blood was shed in this siege, as Curtius saith, may in part be hence gathered: besides all that died in that miserable sea-fight, or those fierce skirmishes about the walls, after the Macedonians had made entry both by sea and land, six thousand of such as bare arms were forthwith slain, two thousand hanged on gibbets along the shore, that *Ashkelon,* as it followeth in the prophet, ver. 5, *might see it, and fear; and the hopes of Ekron be confounded.* And as

Arrianus, Josephus, and some others tell us, Tyre being thus miserably ransacked, the other cities of Syria or Palestina yielded without resistance. Only the strength of situation, store of provision, the resolution and fidelity of the governor to Darius the Persian emperor, emboldened Gaza to hold out for a time as stoutly as Tyre had done: for that part which God had appointed her and her king or governor to act, was not fear, but sorrow: *Ashkelon shall see it, and fear; Gaza also shall see it, and be very sorrowful, and Ekron; for her expectation shall be ashamed; and the king shall perish from Gaza, and Ashkelon shall not be inhabited.* ver. 5.

3. The greater danger the conqueror himself did in the assault of Gaza incur, the more grievous was her ransack, and the greater was the cruelty practised upon the conquered. Alexander's wounded body did exasperate his heroical mind to imitate Achilles (his pretended progenitor) as much at this time in de-
842 spiteful revenge, as at other times he had done in valour. For by Alexander's appointment, Batis, as Curtius instyles him, the governor of Gaza, or deputy king for Darius, being yet as full of life and spirit as of bleeding wounds, was dragged by the heels after a chariot through the streets, as Hector had been by Achilles about the walls of Troy. Thus doth confidence in causes accursed by God inevitably bring their undertakers to those disastrous ends, whereto the just will of the Almighty Judge had for their sins appointed them. All this, and much more, which Curtius and Arrianus relate concerning the desolation of Gaza, (we need not be afraid to speak it,) came to pass, that the word of the Lord spoken by Zechariah might be fulfilled: *The king shall perish from Gaza*, &c. ver. 5. Yet would I not have these words concerning Gaza

and her governor, being for quantity indefinite, restrained to this particular time or accident: for that were to make this disaster the complete object of the literal sense, of which it is at the most but a principal part. This woful accident might, and, I take it, did portend the like in success of time; and I have ever held those interpreters shortsighted, rather than overseen, who think the several passages in this prophecy must literally refer only to the wars of Alexander, or of the Maccabees: for multitude of like events, though different only in time, not in proportion to prophetical predictions, can neither argue any diversity in their former object, nor any plurality of literal senses. All in their order may be alike literally meant by the same prophet, all alike properly signified by the same words. No man questioneth whether ἄνθρωπος in Greek or *homo* in Latin have more significations than one, although in strict propriety of speech they denote or signify as well men now living, as those that died a thousand years ago.

4. Hitherto we have seen how God by Alexander began to pull down the pride of Tyre and of the Philistines; not with purpose utterly to destroy them, as he did the old world, but rather, by this castigation or contusion, to prepare and fit them for that mixture with the Jews, their ancient enemies, which was foretold by the prophet Zechariah, ix. 6, 7: *And a bastard*[c] *shall dwell in Ashdod, and I will cut off the pride of the Philistines. And I will take away his blood out of his mouth, and his abominations from between his teeth: but he that remaineth, even he, shall be for our God, and he shall be as a governor in Judah, and Ekron as a Jebusite.* The literal truth

[c] That is, it should be a quiet habitation for bordering nations, or a mixed people.

of this last cited passage we may see experienced after the wars of Alexander, and of his successors with the Maccabees; partly, in that great place which Herod of Ashkelon held amongst the Jewish nation; partly, in the Philistines, proselytes, who were admitted as communicants with the sons of Abraham in their sacraments and sacrifices; partly, in the admission of the Jews as free denizens into the cities of Palestina, and in such quiet cohabitation of the Philistines and these modern Jews as had been between the Jebusites and their ancestors. Every part of this observation might be concludently proved out of unpartial historians, heathenish or Jewish, which wrote before our Lord and Saviour was born. Divers parts of it are abundantly proved out of the author of the first book of Maccabees, chap. x. 88, 89: *Now when king Alexander heard these things,* (to wit, the victory over Azotus, and the submission of Ashkelon upon the ransack of it,) *he honoured Jonathan yet more, and sent him a buckle of gold, as the use is to be given to such as are of the*
843 *king's blood: he gave him also Accaron with the borders thereof in possession.* Chap. xi. 60, 61: *Then Jonathan went forth, and passed through the cities beyond the water, and all the forces of Syria gathered themselves unto him for to help him: and when he came to Ascalon, they of the city met him honourably. From whence he went to Gaza, but they of Gaza shut him out; wherefore he laid siege unto it, and burned the suburbs thereof with fire, and spoiled them.* Chap. xiii. 33—52: *Then Simon built up the strong holds in Judæa, and fenced them about with high towers, and great walls, and gates, and bars, and laid up victuals therein. Moreover Simon chose men, and sent to king Demetrius, to the end he should give the land an immunity, because all that Tryphon did was to spoil.*

Unto whom king Demetrius answered and wrote after this manner: King Demetrius unto Simon the high priest, and friend of kings, as also unto the elders and nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: The golden crown, and the scarlet robe, which ye sent unto us, we have received: and we are ready to make a steadfast peace with you, yea, and to write unto our officers, to confirm the immunities which we have granted. And whatsoever covenants we have made with you shall stand; and the strong holds, which ye have builded, shall be your own. As for any oversight or fault committed unto this day, we forgive it, and the crown tax also, which ye owe us: and if there were any other tribute paid in Jerusalem, it shall no more be paid. And look who are meet among you to be in our court, let them be enrolled, and let there be peace betwixt us. Thus the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel in the hundred and seventieth year. Then the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts, In the first year of Simon the high priest, the governor and leader of the Jews. In those days Simon camped against Gaza, and besieged it round about; he made also an engine of war, and set it by the city, and battered a certain tower, and took it. And they that were in the engine leapt into the city; whereupon there was a great uproar in the city: insomuch as the people of the city rent their clothes, and climbed upon the walls with their wives and children, and cried with a loud voice, beseeching Simon to grant them peace. And they said, Deal not with us according to our wickedness, but according to thy mercy. So Simon was appeased toward them, and fought no more against them, but put them out of the city, and cleansed the houses wherein the idols were, and so entered into it with

songs and thanksgiving. Yea, he put all uncleanness out of it, and placed such men there as would keep the law, and made it stronger than it was before, and built therein a dwelling-place for himself. They also of the tower in Jerusalem were kept so strait, that they could neither come forth, nor go into the country, nor buy, nor sell: wherefore they were in great distress for want of victuals, and a great number of them perished through famine. Then cried they to Simon, beseeching him to be at one with them: which thing he granted them; and when he had put them out from thence, he cleansed the tower from pollutions: and entered into it the three and twentieth day of the second month, in the hundred seventy and first year, with thanksgiving, and branches of palm trees, and with harps, and cymbals, and with viols, and hymns, and songs: because there was destroyed a great enemy out of Israel. He ordained also that that day should be kept every year with gladness. Moreover the hill of the temple that was by the tower he made stronger than it was, and there he dwelt himself with his company. He that will compare these, and many other passages in
844 this grave writer, with the ninth of the prophet Zechariah, will perceive there may be good use of books not canonical, for the right understanding of sacred writings most canonical; and that this book, though apocryphal, did not deserve to be left out in the new impressions, or binding up of our Bibles. But to return unto the prophecy of Zechariah.

5. The manifest accomplishment of all the strange alterations foretold by him in this ninth chapter might well occasion the Jews to expect the coming of their promised King shortly after. And amongst all the signs, which the times intercurrent between Alexan-

der's conquest of Syria, Tyre, and Palestina, and our Saviour's death, did exhibit, this to me is most remarkable, that after so many terrible blasts of God's wrath, thus overturning every castle and strong hold about Jerusalem, sweeping most cities of their ancient inhabitants as the whirlwind doth their streets of dust, the temple of Jerusalem should all this while hold up her head; that temple, whose foundation and superstructions had been accused of sedition and rebellion, whose demolition had been solemnly vowed by such tyrants as had power given them over the city and strong holds of Jerusalem, power to practise all kind and manner of savage cruelties on the citizens' bodies, and to expose their carcasses to the birds of the air. The consideration hereof doth plainly testify such a powerful arm and watchful eye of the Almighty to defend his house, as in the eighth verse of this chapter is literally charactered: *And I will encamp about mine house because of the army, because of him that passeth by, and because of him that returneth: and no oppressor shall pass through them any more: for now have I seen with mine eyes.* He that could rightly spell the several passages in the forementioned authors, and the disposition of Divine Providence overruling the projects of Alexander and his successors in all these wars, according to the literal predictions of the prophet Zechariah, and put them right together, could not suspect that which Josephus hath registered in the latter end of the eleventh book of Jewish Antiquities, concerning Alexander's reconciliation to Jaddah the high priest of the Jews, and the extraordinary favours done unto that nation, which not long before had mightily offended him.

6. But this prediction of God's special providence, in protecting his temple against such as pretended

mischief unto it, was literally fulfilled, not only in the times of Alexander, but in the attempts made against it by Nicanor, Antiochus, and other of its professed enemies, though not fully to be accomplished until the glory of this temple came. For the temple built by Zerubbabel, *sub auspiciis* of Jeshue the high priest, did continue and flourish until Jesus the High Priest of the covenant, into whose body the life and spirit of it was to be transfused, did visit and cleanse it. It must be granted that Herod the Great did take down the temple built by Zerubbabel, not with purpose to demolish it, but to make it more glorious to human view than Solomon's temple had been. And this friendly dissolution of it, with purpose to reedify it, did prefigure the dissolution of Christ's body and soul, and their reunition in glory and immortality. And I could willingly yield my assent unto Rupertus and Ribera, that the first verses of this chapter were truly fulfilled in that victorious passage of the gospel throughout the cities of Syria and Palestina before mentioned; so they or their followers would grant
845 me, that the swift victory of the gospel was as well occasioned as portended by Alexander's speedy conquest of these regions. For God did plague these neighbour nations before the desire of all nations came unto this temple, that Jerusalem might take warning by them, and repent her of her sins: *I have cut off the nations: their towers are desolate; I made their streets waste, that none passeth by: their cities are destroyed, so that there is no man, that there is none inhabitant. I said, Surely thou* (Jerusalem) *wilt fear me, thou wilt receive instruction; so their dwelling should not be cut off, howsoever I punished them: but they rose early, and corrupted all their doings.* Zephaniah iii. 6, 7. That this prophecy, unto what

other times soever it be concludently appliable, doth in special refer unto the calamities brought upon the nations by Alexander the Great, is apparent from Zeph. ii. 4, 5. But to return to the literal meaning of the prophecy now in handling[d]: that, as I take it, is as if the prophet had spoken in more words to Jerusalem thus: "Thine eyes, in the generations following, shall behold the flourishing pride of sundry nations, each endeavouring to overtop others in height of glory and temporal state; each striving to keep others under by human policy and strength of war. And whilst the sight of their mutual conquests shall possess thy thoughts, thou wilt be ready in the pride of thy heart to say, Jerusalem and Judah one day shall have their turn, and in that day shall the sons of Jacob, the seed of Abraham and David, be like the monarchs of Greece and Persia, far exalted above the kings of other nations: every one (able to bear arms) glistering with his golden shield, and leading the princes of the heathen as prisoners bound in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron. The beauty and riches of their costly temples shall deck the chariots of my children, which their captives shall draw in triumph. But thou shouldest remember, that the promised Prince of peace, of benignity and justice, should not be sought amongst the tumultuous hosts of war. Or canst thou hope, that *the desire of all nations* should be thy leader or general to destroy themselves? It is glory and honour enough for thee, glory and honour greater than the greatest conqueror on earth could ever compass, that the King of kings and Lord of lords shall be anointed and proclaimed King upon the hill of Zion; that the inviolable decrees of everlasting peace shall be given to all the nations under heaven from thy courts. And

[d] Zech. ix. 9.

therefore, whilst horses and chariots, or other glorious preparations of war, shall present themselves to thy view, suffer them to pass as they come, and rest assured that thy King, of whose coming thou hast often been admonished by the prophets, is not amongst them. The manner of his coming unto thee, so thou wilt mark it, bodes far better tidings to thee, and all the nations besides, than can accompany the prosperous success of wars, or any victory which is stained with blood. What king of Judah or Israel did ever levy an army, though in just defence of their country and people, on so fair terms, that no poor amongst them were pinched with taxes for the supply? What victory did they ever obtain so good cheap, that many of their children were not enforced to sit down with loss, many wounded, others maimed, and some always slain? But lo, now I bring thee unusual matter of exultation and uncouth joy: for, *behold, thy King cometh unto thee,* (whensoever he cometh,) attended
846 with justice for his guide and salvation for his train. He shall execute judgment without oppression, he shall save thee (so thou wilt be saved) without destroying any; able and ready to make thy lame to go, to give life to the dead, without hazard either of life or limb, to any who rests within thy territories. Such shall be the manner of his coming, and such his presence, that the silliest wretch amongst thy children may think himself more happy than any king of Judah or Israel which was before him, so he will conform himself to his garb or demeanour: for *he cometh unto thee poor and lowly, riding upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass,* to wean thee from the vain hopes of the heathen, from which the prophets have so often dehorted thy forefathers. Some put their trust in horses, some in chariots; *but thy confidence*

must be in the Lord thy God, who will always be thy King to defend thee, to protect thee, and strengthen thee, through his weakness: for by the weakness of his appearance *he will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle bow shall be cut off: and he shall speak peace unto the heathen: his dominion shall be from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth.*" Zech. ix. 10. The mark whereat the prophet Zechariah in this place aims is the very same with that which the prophet Haggai, his coeval, had set up a little before him; neither of them (as I take it) conscious of the other's predictions: *Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech, the high priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work: for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts: according to the word that I covenanted with you when ye came out of Egypt, so my spirit remaineth among you: fear ye not. For thus saith the Lord of hosts; Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of hosts: and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts.* Haggai ii. 4—9. And the prophet Zechariah had touched (before) on the same string, chap. ii. 10, 11: *Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion: for, lo, I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord. And many nations shall be joined to the Lord in that day, and shall be my people: and I will dwell in the midst of thee, and*

thou shalt know that the Lord of hosts hath sent me unto thee, &c. Every branch of these forecited prophecies were exactly fulfilled according to their plain literal sense in our Saviour's triumphant ingress into Jerusalem, and visitation of the second temple, which, by the bounty of Herod the Great, and of many other nations, was made (even to secular eyes) more beautiful[e] and glorious than the temple of Solomon was. The extraordinary contributions of several nations and princes of the Roman empire for the beautifying of this second temple, and Herod's special care in the right employment of his own and others' expenses upon this glorious work, might have taught the Jews, had they not been blind, to expect that the desire of all nations, their promised King, was speedily to come unto it; yet not to come in such pomp, specially of war, as they expected, but in such humility and meekness of spirit as the prophet Zechariah in the ninth chapter and tenth verse hath expressed.

847 And so it had been foretold in the building of Zerubbabel's temple: *Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts. Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain: and he shall bring forth the head stone thereof with shoutings, crying, Grace, grace unto it.* Zech. iv. 6.

7. Some parts of the forecited prophecy there be which were not to be fulfilled in the exquisite literal, but especially in the mystical or spiritual, sense, until our Saviour's resurrection from the dead, or the accomplishment of his consecration to be King, Priest, and Temple to all the Israel of God. But of these, by God's assistance, in the article of his Resurrection. That which we are now to follow is the fulfilling of the ninth verse of the prophet Zechariah.

[e] Vide Riberam in secundum Haggæi.

CHAP. XVIII.

The fulfilling of Zechariah's Prophecy, chap. ix. 9, *recorded by all the Evangelists; but most fully and most punctually by St. Matthew.*

1. THERE was not any sacred prediction, from the first promise of the woman's seed until this time, more capable of being counterfeited by subtle pretenders to the crown of David, than this particular was; and yet the fulfilling of it, so we would take all circumstances related by the evangelists into serious consideration, or scan the true grammatical sense of the prophet's words aright, is as concludently punctual as the accomplishing of any prophecy besides, any passage in Isaiah liii. or psalm xxii. not excepted. God, by his all-seeing providence, did prevent the reduction of that possibility, or facility rather, of imposture, whereunto this prophecy above others was exposed, into act. For from the day of our Saviour's triumphant coming into Jerusalem, neither city nor people had any just occasion of such joy or exultation as now they expressed; scarce any quiet hour from this neglect of that great salvation which now was proffered, until the destruction of the city and temple, and the dispersion of the Jewish nation throughout the world. Among many other circumstances related by the evangelists, all worthy of our serious consideration, this one, in my mind, is most remarkable, that the owners of the ass and of the colt, or the neighbourhood then present, should suffer them to be untied and carried away before they saw the disciples' warrant so to do, subscribed by their Master's hand. But warrant they had none, save only parol: *And if any ask why you do so, say, The Lord hath need of them*, &c. Matt. xxi. 3, and Mark xi. 3. Had not this Lord whose

authority they avouched been a greater King than his father David, had not his power and authority, not over their goods only, but over their minds and consciences, been more than monarchical, he could not so plainly and so peremptorily have foreprophesied *de futuris contingentibus*, or given his disciples full assurance that the owner of these *juments* should do
848 as he foretold they would do. This was an oracle of the same God, of the same power and authority which informed David that the men of Keilah would betray him into Saul's hands if he did commit himself to their trust. The men of Keilah were prevented from doing that which the Searcher of all hearts saw they were intended or bent to do. But these men did as the Lord foretold they should do, when they intended no such matter.

2. If we compare the evangelical relations concerning the manner of our Saviour's coming to Jerusalem with the prophet's predictions, they agree so well, that Zechariah in this particular may share well with Isaiah in that title of *the evangelical prophet*. Yet in the manner of the evangelical stories concerning this point there is some variation in words, but no contradiction or contrariety in sense. *Go unto the village* (saith St. Matthew) *over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her: loose them, and bring them unto me.* chap. xxi. 2. St. Mark relateth the same story thus: *Ye shall find a colt tied, whereon never man sat; loose him, and bring him.* ch. xi. 2. See Luke xix. 30. This variation of words hath raised a doubt amongst interpreters, as well of the prophet as of the evangelists, whether our Saviour did ride part of the way upon the ass and part upon the colt, or all the way upon the colt alone. Such as think our Saviour did ride only upon the colt, labour to salve

the truth of the prophetical prediction, and St. Matthew's relation how it was fulfilled, by a synecdoche, usual, as they allege, in the Hebrew dialect. To say the King of Zion should come *riding upon an ass, and upon the foal of an ass*, is a speech as justifiable in grammatical sense as that Jonas should be *sleeping in the sides of the ship*, (so are the words of the prophecy,) whereas he could not sleep but in one side of the ship at one time. But as for synecdoches, metonymies, or other like words of art, grammar, or rhetoric, unless they be reduced to some logical or rational maxim, they edify no better in divinity than an allegory or mystical interpretation which is not grounded upon some historical relation of matter of fact, according to the plain literal or grammatical sense. The στῆλος, or the only foundation of this synecdoche here pretended, must be that logical rational maxim, *Ad veritatem indefinitæ propositionis sufficit veritas unius particularis:* "Unto the truth of an indefinite proposition, the truth of one particular is sufficient." He that can prove Socrates to be a learned man, may without impeachment affirm, that man is learned, or men are learned; for the expression of any particulars indistinctly apprehended (or confusedly known) by the plural is usual, not in the sacred only, but in modern languages. We Englishmen do not commit any solecism when we say, 'The noble Sidney was slain in the Low Countries;' albeit, in strict propriety of speech, he was slain but in one of those countries or provinces. A man that had been present, or had a distinct geographical apprehension of the place where he was wounded, would have named it in the singular, as at Zutphen. So it was said, Judges xii. 7, that *Jephthah died, and was buried in the cities of Gilead;* that is, as our English very well renders it, *in one of the cities of*

Gilead; but in which one of them, that, it seems, the author of that sacred history did not think worthy to be taken into particular consideration, being a point wherein posterity without loss might be altogether ignorant. And certainly it was ignorance of their own dialect, or the spirit of slumber, which occasioned some
849 Jewish[f] writers to gather from this plural expression, that Jephthah's bones were scattered throughout all the cities of Gilead, or respectively entombed in many several places. The evangelists use the like speech when they say, *The malefactors which were crucified with our Saviour did revile him;* whereas in such distinct apprehension as St. Luke had of this circumstance one of the two only did revile him, or at least continue in this wicked mind; but the party reviling being not so distinctly known by name or by other circumstances (as Barabbas was) to the other evangelists as unto St. Luke, they make their expressions in the plural. It is a general rule, worthy of every commentator's actual consideration, that albeit every evangelist relate nothing but the truth, yet no one of them relates the whole truth concerning our Saviour's life and actions, his death and passion; nor do they always observe the order and method of all circumstances or

[f] Nunquam cohabites impiis, eo quod fieri non possit, ut non ex illorum conversatione et tu impius evadas. Quod si miraris: considera quid acciderit Jiphtah Gileaditæ, qui licet justus esset, tamen quia habitavit in tribu Ephraiim, et ipse ab eis ad impietatem pertractus fuit. Cum enim videret quod filios et filias suas idolo Baal comburerent: inde quoque et ipse abiit, similique modo filiam suam occidit. Item cum videret eos operam dare homicidiis, factus est et ipse homicidia, abiens et interficiens 40 duo millia, ob quod facinus tanquam impius punitus, non meruit sepulturam, juxta id quod dicitur, *Et sepultus est in civitatibus Gilead,* Judic. xii. Qui locus scripturæ docet, dispersa fuisse ossa ejus in omnibus civitatibus Gilead. In quocunque enim loco videbant ejus ossa, sepeliebant ea.—Ben. Syræ Sentent. Mor. 6.

occurrences, as will appear hereafter. The manner of our Saviour's coming to Jerusalem might be, and no doubt was, more distinctly represented to the disciples' senses, than it had been to the prophet Zechariah's spirit. For *lumen propheticum erat aliqualiter ænigmaticum*, "the light of prophecy was not always distinctly evident, but indefinitely." And this might be the reason why the prophet foretells that our Saviour should come riding both upon the ass and the colt, whenas three evangelists[g] mention only the colt. And albeit St. Matthew mention both, yet it may be replied that he historically in that passage avoucheth nothing of his own observation, but only relateth the prophet's words which he saw now fulfilled, although our Saviour had rid only upon the ass or upon the colt.

3. But however the prophet's words in themselves considered, or compared only with the historical narrations of their fulfilling as they are extant by St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, may admit the presumed synecdoche, or plural expression, instead of the singular; yet, to my understanding or observation, none of these three evangelists' affirmative for Christ's riding upon the colt or foal of the ass is so exclusive, as St. Matthew's relation of the same story is inclusive. Nor is St. Jerome's, Maldonate's, or others' inference from the expression of these three evangelists so concludent that he rode upon the colt alone, as the inference which may be drawn from St. Matthew's relation that he rode upon both: *Ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her: loose them, and bring them unto me. And if any man shall say ought unto you, ye shall say, The Lord hath need of them; and straightway he will send*

[g] Mark and Luke in the forecited places, and St. John in chap. xii. 14.

them. He further adds, *All this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, Tell ye the daughter* &c. All the other three evangelists' affirmatives will not infer this negative, that our Saviour did not ride upon the ass at all. The historical, literal, or legal tenor of our Saviour's commission, directed or given to his two disciples whom he authorized to take them, imply that he had instant use of both, though more special or permanent use of the colt or foal. And the execution of this commission necessarily infers as much; *And the disciples went, and did as Jesus commanded them, and brought the*
850 *ass, and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and they set him thereon:* or, as the original hath it, *upon them,* ἐπάνω αὐτῶν, Matt. xxi. 6, 7. His dismission of the dam upon some short trial, and longer use of the young one, (as sundry of the ancient with good modern interpreters observe,) did admirably prefigure the instant rejection of the Jews, and the speedy admission of the Gentiles here promised. The Gentile, though never accustomed to the yoke of Mosaical laws, by whose rites the anointing and consecration, the coming of this great King was foreshadowed, did beyond expectation willingly submit himself unto the gospel or kingdom of heaven here on earth, as the young colt which never had been backed before this time did gently bear our Saviour, notwithstanding all the noise and cry which had been made by the promiscuous multitude: whenas the Jew, resembled or typified by the old ass, which had been used to the yoke and saddle, became (as it is probable she did) resty and skittish, ready to kick and spurn, and endeavouring to throw her rider. And in type or prognostic of this mystical truth, it is not improbable that our Saviour

relinquished the ass after he had assayed her, and took her colt, and rode on him into Jerusalem, though no man had sat upon him before.

4 However, the fulfilling of the latter part of this prophecy, whether it was fulfilled by synecdoche, or in the plain literal and legal construction of the prophet's words, was most clear and evident unto the apostles' and disciples' senses. But whether the former part of this prophecy concerning the titles of this King was so clearly fulfilled, admitteth some question which cannot be determined without further discussion of the grammatical sense or prophetical importance of these words, צַדִּיק וְנוֹשָׁע הוּא. The best and choicest translations vary much, partly about the signification, partly about the pointing of these words; and no interpreter which I have read (though I have consulted many) doth give me any tolerable satisfaction for their emphatical or prophetical importance, save one or two. I shall for this reason crave pardon, with humble submission of my opinion unto the judgment of the learned, to proffer more variety of translations and interpretations than I have been accustomed unto the reader's choice. The Vulgar Latin renders it thus: *Ecce Rex tuus veniet tibi justus, et Salvator: ipse pauper*, &c. *Behold, thy King cometh, a just King, and a Saviour: he is poor*, &c., referring the Hebrew pronoun to *pauper*. Junius accords in part with the Vulgar, *Justus et salute præditus:* with whom our latter English accords, save only that it refers the pronoun הוּא unto *justus et salvator; he is just, and having salvation:* whereas Junius altogether omits the expression of it, and the Vulgar refers it to that which followeth, *he is poor, he is lowly* or *meek*. The translator of the King's Bible refers it unto *justus, Justus ille et Salvator; that Just and Saviour*. Arias Montanus in his

Interlineary refers the same pronoun unto the first clause, *Justus*, &c. But whereas others read, *Salvator ille*, he hath it *Salvatus ipse:* so doth our former English, *He is just, and saved himself.* But Cramerus the Lutheran, *ut Hunnii discipulum agnoscas*, chargeth that translation which our former English follows (as his master Hunnius had Calvin in many others) with Judaizing, at least for giving advantage to the captious Jew. For what argument can it be either of glory to a great king, or of joy unto subjects, to foretell that he himself should be *servatus* or *salvatus*. This expression implies danger unto himself more
851 directly than saving health unto others; it supposeth peril or hazard antecedent, but doth not necessarily argue victory for the consequent. And yet the words in the original are formally passive. But Cramerus with some others would, out of the grammatical rudiments which they had learned, instruct us that verbs of this form or conjugation sometimes admit a signification merely active, otherwhiles neither merely active or passive, but reciprocal, as the Septuagint renders this place σωζὼν ἑαυτὸν, that is, *saving himself.* So doth our latter English in the marginal note. Yet if the original in this place might be (as Cramerus would have it) reciprocal, the basis of these two contrary significations should be the passive. And though both versions, *saving himself* and *saved himself*, meet in one point, yet it had been more handsome to have said *salvatus a seipso*, than *servans seipsum.* And so Vatablus in his annotations upon this place tells us it may be rendered: *Vertere potes* (saith he) *et servetur, sub: a se, pro servans se.* But Masius, a man more skilful than the vulgar grammarians, hath so far impeached these grammatical curiosities about the peculiar force or value of conjugations, that it is not safe

to put a matter of so great a consequence as the fulfilling of a prophecy concerning Christ upon their verdict. And however many other verbs in this form, to wit, in Niphal, be rather equivalent to actives, than truly actives, neuterpassives, or reciprocals, yet their use, though it were more frequent than it is, cannot prescribe against the proper and natural signification of the word נוֹשָׁע in this place, which, for aught I find, is always a mere passive. Wherefore, to wave these grammatical curiosities, this observation (I take it) is more real, and of better use: That as vulgar philosophers usually ascribe the variety of effects unto the agents or efficients, which ariseth wholly from the matter or patient; so grammarians often labour to salve the regular use or importance of words from the diversity of forms or conjugations in their derivatives, or multiplicity of significations in the primitive, whenas all the variation proceeds wholly from the nature of the subjects unto which one and the same word in one and the same form or signification is applied: as, for instance, when Melchisedec saith, *Benedictus sit Deus Abrahami, et benedictus sit Abraham a Deo*, &c. *Blessed be the God of Abraham*, and *Blessed be Abraham of the most high God:* the formal signification of the Latin *benedictus* and the English *blessed* is one and the same; but the use or importance much differ whilst applied unto God and unto Abraham. For Abraham or man to be blessed of God, or to have good words bestowed upon him by divine goodness, always importeth some real donative whereby he becometh more happy than he was before. For in God *benedicere* is *benefacere*, his good word or blessing is always operative of some real good to the party whom he blesseth. But for God to be *blessed* by man, or, which is all one, for man to

bless God, can import no more than a testification of his love and loyalty towards his Creator, that he no way envieth but heartily congratulateth his eternal happiness, and could wish if it were possible that it might be greater, or that he could express his loyalty and thankfulness better unto him, who is worthy of all praise, honour, glory, and blessedness, &c.

5. In like case, admitting the proper and formal signification of the Hebrew הוֹשִׁיעָ to be always one and the same, and punctually rendered by Arias Montanus *salvatus;* yet the importance of it, whilst our Saviour is the subject and we the agents, will much differ from
852 the importance of it, whilst we are the subjects or passives, and he the agent or donor. *Salvatus* applied unto us alway implies some real salvation of soul or body, or of both, and is as much in English as to be saved or redeemed from death and danger. The same word again applied to the king of Zion by his subjects, or by us sinful men unto our Saviour and Redeemer, can imply no more than our congratulation of his dignity, or an acknowledging of his power to save, or our hearty prayers that he would bestow his saving health upon us. If Arias Montanus, or other translators of the Hebrew, had been tied to have used no other than Ciceronian or Terentian phrases, it would perhaps have been a solecism to have put the Latin *salvatus* for *salutatus*. But the Latin translators oft-times use a phrase or dialect more ancient by much than Cicero or Terence, whose language, though (unto such as peruse few other writers than Tully or Terence, or others a little before or after them) it may seem harsh, yet is it more expressive of the Hebrew (the ancientest of languages) than the modern Latin, as *salvatus* in this place is more significant, and holdeth better analogy with the propriety of the Latin

tongue, than if he had said *salutatus*. He whosoever he be to whom we say *Sis salvus*, or *Jubeo te salvere*, may, according to the fundamental rules of grammar Latin, though not according to the custom of critics, or refiners of that language, be more properly said to be *salvatus* than *salutatus*. And I make no question but Montanus and others did use it in this sense, as the most punctual expression of the original, unless they had said *salvandus*. However, he is properly said to be *salvatus*, or *salutatus*, who is either really saved from danger, or unto whom we wish all health and safety. The passive *juratus* is in its formal signification one and the same, whilst it denotes the party, or person, or matter by which we swear or protest, or the parties which make oath, not only according to the Hebraisms or Hellenisms, used by most translators, but in the elegancy of the Latin or Roman refined dialect. So an elegant poet[h] expresseth Amphiaraus's scrupulosity, or rather observance of decorum, in not swearing by Apollo, but old Chaos, in that region of darkness:

Testor inane Chaos: quid enim hic jurandus Apollo?

If he had sworn by Apollo, Apollo had been *juratus*, yet not *juratus* in that sense as a jury with us are said *jurati*, that is, sworn men, or men which take an oath being administered unto them: for it must consist of swearing men, or of swearers; a new title given by some Roman regular catholics, (as they call themselves,) unto such seculars of their own profession, as will take the oath of allegiance, or acknowledge it to be administered unto them by lawful authority. And yet, I take it, he that takes a voluntary oath may be

[h] Statius.

truly said to be *juratus*, not only *to swear*, but *to be sworn*, and that not in vulgar or legal English only, but in pure refined Latin, as in that of Prudentius:

> Tentavit Geticos nuper delere tyrannos,
> Italiam patrio veniens juratus ab Istro.

According to the custom of refined Latin, it would perhaps be a solecism to say a man that dies of poison were
853 *venenatus*, albeit *venenatus* be a proper Latin word, not obsolete, whilst it denotes arrows or bullets; but in our English we speak as properly when we say *a man was poisoned*, as when we say *a poisoned bullet*, *a poisoned shaft*. And so, no question, according to the true intent of the prophet Zechariah, our Saviour was as properly said to be נוֹשָׁע, that is, *saved*, or *salvificated*, whilst the multitude cried *Hosanna*, or wished all health unto him, as we are said to be σωζόμενοι, or *saved by him*. And if Montanus had as fully expressed this whole phrase נוֹשָׁע הוּא as he doth the word נוֹשָׁע *salvatus*, little could have been added to it by way of comment.

6. But to take the full importance of the whole phrase, or matter signified, according to the sublimity of the prophetical dialect or expression, that, I take it, is thus: However the promised King of Zion was to come unto her so lowly in person, so poorly attired, so meanly furnished of strength or visible pomp, as might cause her inhabitants rather to deride than respect him, yet even in this plight or garb he should be entertained with general applause, with louder acclamations than had been used at the coronation of David or of his successors. The ancient form of such solemn acclamations had been, *Vivat rex*, &c., "Let the king live;" but to our Saviour the multitude cry, *Hosanna*,

hosanna, to the Son of David. And this peculiar kind of salutation or acclamation is punctually foretold by the prophet, and grammatically expressed by the Hebrew. For *Hosanna*, whether we take it as precatory or congratulatory, is an active which doth as exactly fit the passive נוֹשָׁע, as *Ego saluto te* doth *Tu es salutatus a me*, "I salute you," and, "You are saluted of me." If Arias Montanus had said *salvatus ille* for *salvatus ipse*, the translation had been a more full expression of the majestic original phrase. The full expression or prophetical importance of the whole phrase (if I mistake not the emphasis of the Hebrew pronoun הוּא, especially when it comes in the rear[i] or after the substantive to which it refers) will amount to this height, and higher, *Ecce Rex tuus venit, Rex ille justus*, &c. *et pro justis celebrandus.* And I know not whether Castellio's version of this place do not imply as much, *Ecce Rex tuus venit, qui est justus et victoriosus.* It had been an ancient tradition or common prenotion amongst this people before the prophet Zechariah was born, that their King or Christ should be the Son of David, and David's Lord; a Priest after the order of Melchisedec, who was *king of Salem* by office, and by title *king of righteousness*, or *the righteous king.* Now the prophet forewarns this people, that the glorious King, whom Melchisedec did by office and title foreshadow, should come to Zion and Jerusalem, not attended with horses and chariots, but as became the righteous and pacifical King, (for so much his other title עָנִי imports,) *riding on an ass, and the foal of an ass*, and have both his titles proclaimed, though not by express words, yet by hieroglyphic or sacred heraldry. His lowliness, which is the only ground of pacifical disposition, was lively

[i] Vide Hebraicum contextum, Prov. xix. 21.

represented by the manner of his approach, *riding upon the foal of an ass*, which in an instant had learned gentle conditions from his lowliness and peaceable temper who first did sit upon him. His righteousness was really proclaimed by the congratulations and presents of the people: *Much people* (saith St. John) *that were come to the feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm trees, and went forth to meet him,* (as yet not
854 hearing whether he came on foot or horseback,) *and cried, Hosanna: Blessed is the King of Israel that cometh in the name of the Lord,* John xii. 12, 13, &c. And St. Mark telleth us, *Many spread their garments in the way: and others cut down branches of the trees, and strawed them in the way. And they that went before, and they that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna; Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: Blessed be the kingdom of our father David, that cometh in the name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest.* Mark xi. 8—10. Matt. xxi. 8, 9. Now the palm tree was, as well in profane as in sacred heraldry, as true an emblem or hieroglyphic of righteousness or justice, as the sword is of authority and power. Hence, saith the psalmist, *Justus ut palma florebit,* "The just shall flourish like a palm tree." Why rather like this tree than any other? than like the oak or cedar? Pierius[k] (to my remembrance) giveth us the ground or reason of this sacred allusion; and it is this:

[k] Quod vero ponderibus resistat et in adversum incurvetur, facere idem judices debent, atque reluctabundi seductores pellacesque omnes detrectare, neque mulieribus, neque violentiæ cedere.—Pierius in initio sui lib. 50. de Hierog. Et inquit Aristot.: Si super arboris ejus lignum magnum quantumlibet pondus imponas, palma minime deorsum cedit, nec infra flectitur, sed adversus pondus resurgit et sursum nititur in adversum fornicata.

For that the palm tree, the more it is wronged or pressed down, the less it is diverted from its natural course, but groweth higher and spreadeth the more: and was for this reason a fit emblem of this righteous and victorious King, whose incomparable exaltation did grow from his unparalleled humiliation and depression.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Meaning or Importance of Hosanna to the Son of David.

1. THE diversity of interpretations of many principal passages in scripture is for the most part as great as the multiplicity or variety of importances or significations of some one single word in some large sentences and passages. The best is, that this word *Hosanna* hath but two importances which can breed any matter of difference between interpreters of scripture, or any variety of interpretations. Yet discord between interpreters usually arises without any difference, only from variety of significations in words more than compatible, yea most consonant between themselves, as some there be who would have this word *Hosanna* to be merely precatory or optative; as much as, *The Lord send help* or *salvation;* others would have it to be merely (or especially) congratulatory; whereas both opinions agree very well, though their several authors or abettors have censured each other. That *Hosanna,* in the intention of the multitude, which carried or spread branches of palms or olives in the way, should (at least in the direct sense) be merely congratulatory, is probably alleged from the whole phrase or structure of speech: for they did not cry, as the blind man in the way did, Υἱὲ Δαβὶδ, ἐλέησόν με,

O Son of David, have mercy upon me[1], or *save me;* but Ὡσαννὰ τῷ Υἱῷ Δαβὶδ ἐν ὑψίστοις, *Hosanna to the Son of David in the highest.* Both clauses import matter only of congratulation. Caninius first, and after him Beza, amongst others, have out of their rabbinical
855 learning well observed, that the branches of palms, of olives, or other trees, which this people used in their solemn feast of tabernacles, or the like, in which they used the comprecations of the cxviiith psalm, came by custom and concurrence of time to be called *Hosanna;* by such a manner or trope of speech, as the English and French do call the buds or flowers of hawthorn *May.* According to this importance or signification of the word *Hosanna,* the meaning of the multitude or disciples was, that they did bear these boughs and use these congratulations in honour of the Son of David, now coming unto them in triumph.

2. Some go a great way further, and would persuade us that the people or multitude being sorry that they had so slighted our Saviour's presence or invitations in the last feast of tabernacles, John vii, to which this solemnity of carrying branches was (at the least) originally proper, did seek to redeem their former neglect, and regain the opportunity of tendering their allegiance unto him, not as he was the Son of David only, but as the God of their fathers, who had brought them out of Egypt into the land of Canaan, and redeemed them from Babylonish captivity, to honour him with solemn feasts and other services in Jerusalem. But that the multitude (either all, or most, or any) should have a more distinct explicit apprehension of his Deity, or of the great mystery of salvation which he was now to accomplish, than his disciples and fol-

[1] Mark x. 48.

lowers had, is very improbable. That his very disciples, though actors in this business, had no such distinct apprehension of the great mystery imported by this solemnity, is unquestionable. For St. John, upon a distinct review of all the circumstances of this solemnity, whether congratulatory or precatory, or both, tells us, *These things understood not his disciples at the first: but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him, and that they had done these things unto him.* chap. xii. 16.

3. Amongst the things which are written of him, this was one, that he should be acknowledged and publicly proclaimed for the Son of David, κατ' ἐξοχήν, the often promised and long expected Messias, and Redeemer of the whole world. And all this was acknowledged and proclaimed by the multitude, as well by the form of prayer which they used, as by their real congratulations. First, that the word *Hosanna* was uttered by way of prayer by the multitude, is clear from that passage in the psalmist, whereunto the word *Hosanna*, with the matters of fact which did accompany it, do refer. For so it is agreed upon by all sides, that הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא, psalm cxviii. 25, is a solemn and formal prayer: *Save now, I beseech thee, O Lord: O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity:* to wit, unto the Son of David, and unto his people by him. And thus far, at least, the apprehension or intention of the people when they cried *Hosanna to the Son of David* did reach; for they thought this was the day which the Lord had made, and did therefore rejoice and were glad in it, as in the day of their long expected redemption from the hands of all their enemies. *As they heard these things, he added and spake a parable, because he was nigh to Jerusalem, and because they thought that the kingdom of God should imme-*

diately appear. Luke xix. 11. This prenotion, that the kingdom of God was now to be manifested, did facilitate the assent or obedience as well of the owner of the ass and the colt whereon he rode to Jerusalem, as of the master of the family wherein he did eat his pass-
856 over, unto the intimation or direction of our great Lord and Master. The one story concerning their present obedience, we have Matt. xxi. 5; the other more at large, Luke xxii. 7—14. Nor did they err in taking this to be the day of their redemption, but in the confused notion of the enemies from which they were to be redeemed. They expected only a deliverance from the tyranny of the Romans, and other hostile nations, over whom they hoped the Son of David should exercise royal and temporal jurisdiction. And it is no wonder if the multitude, whether of inhabitants of Jerusalem or strangers which went out to meet him and congratulate his approach, did apprehend no more than thus, seeing the two disciples which accompanied him towards Emmaus upon the day of his resurrection, had no better a notion of the redemption promised than this, though even this notion did fleet or vanish, after they had seen him put to death: *We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel,* Luke xxiv. 21: this argues that their former trust was for the present extinguished, till he by opening the scriptures unto them did revive and kindle it.

4. Again, when they cry *Hosanna to the Son of David in the highest,* not *from heaven,* this no way argues that their salutation should not be formally precatory; especially if Maldonate's observation be without exception, that ἐν ὑψίστοις be equivalent (according to the Hebrew dialect) unto *ab excelsis, from the highest heavens.* However, taking the word *Ho-*

sanna as in its primary signification, for as much as *The Lord send help,* or *grant salvation;* and the Greek ἐν ὑψίστοις, according to the native Greek, *in the highest;* the natural meaning, or literal expression of the congratulation will amount to this, that God would be pleased to ratify their petitions for the prosperity of the Son of David in heaven, not doubting but that God so doing, his blessings upon him and them might be established here on earth. For so they further express themselves in the psalmist's words, *Blessed be the King that cometh in the name of the Lord: peace in heaven, and glory in the highest,* Luke xix. 38. But though Maldonate with other judicious commentators do clearly evince this form of congratulation, *Hosanna,* to be precatory, yet was Maldonate more to blame than such as think it only to have been congratulatory, when he avoucheth that this solemnity of carrying branches of palms and olives had no special reference to the feast of tabernacles, and more to blame when he thinketh that the feast of tabernacles had *nihil commune cum Christo,* no type or figure of this solemnity, or that this solemnity did include no emblematical acknowledgment or testification that CHRIST JESUS was as truly the Son of God as of David, as well David's אֲדֹנִי, *Lord,* as his Son.

CHAP. XX. 857

At what Time and upon what Occasion the cxviiith *psalm was composed, and at what solemn Feast especially used.*

1. FOR giving such as it may concern more full satisfaction in the points late handled, and for setting forth the sweet harmony betwixt the prophetical song and the people's acclamations and cry at this great and last solemn festivity, the best method I can conjecture,

would be to make diligent inquiry at what time and upon what occasions the cxviiith psalm was first written, and at what solemn feast it was principally used. Mollerus, a man of commendable pains in this particular search, and one who had read very many, telleth us, that the major part of learned interpreters whom he had perused are of opinion that this psalm was composed by David himself, upon occasions of his victory over his enemies, and freedom from disturbance or danger from the house of Saul upon the death of Ishbosheth; and for strengthening this conjecture he referreth us to 2 Samuel, chap. vi. And Coppen, a most ingenuous and exact examiner of such commentators as he had read, seemeth rather to incline this way than to the contrary. The main stream of interpreters would carry me with them, did not the nature of the subject now in hand permit a peculiar liberty of dissenting from a major part, though otherwise most learned interpreters. And having conferred this cxviiith psalm, as well for circumstances as for matter, and for the character of speech or language, with the history of 2 Samuel vi, as with the xviiith and lxviiith psalm, which, it is evident, were both written at the time and upon the occasions which Mollerus conjectures this cxviiith psalm was composed, I find no congruity either of matter or style betwixt them. Many passages in the cxviiith psalm there are which literally refer unto the gates or building of the house of the Lord, not to the ark or tabernacle, which were only extant in the time of David: for he lived not to see the chief corner stone, whether the highest or the lowest, of the temple laid or placed, much less to see the gates at which the righteous was to enter set up. Besides, although this cxviiith psalm was written by the same Spirit by which David wrote,

yet the language or character of this psalm doth argue it was composed in a different age from that wherein David lived, and wrote the xviiith and lxviiith psalms: and, as far as my observation leads me, in the same age, and upon the same occasions, that the psalms of degrees (all save one) were first composed and first used: and those psalms (it is to me clear) were written after this people's return from Babylon, and, as is most probable, after the death of Zerubbabel, when the glory of the house of David was for a time eclipsed by the splendour of the house of Aaron. And certainly if this psalm had been composed by David himself, or any of his successors, or other prophet in this nation, while the first temple was standing, there would have been thanksgiving in special expressed for the house of David, as well as for the house of Aaron. But the form of thanksgiving in the first place runs thus: *O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good: because his mercy endureth for ever. Let Israel now say, that his mercy endureth for ever. Let the house of Aaron now say, that his mercy endureth for ever. Let them now that fear the Lord say, that his mercy endureth for ever.* Psalm cxviii. 1—4. Nor is there 858
any express mention in special of the house of David, or of his successors, unto the end of this psalm; though many passages in the same psalm cannot, according to the true literal sense, be applied to any person or community, save only to the Son of David, who was also David's Lord. The thanksgivings are uttered or delivered not in the name of any one person or family, but in the name and behalf of the whole community, as well priest as people. And yet the same thanksgivings are punctually directed unto God the Lord; or as the multitude, not by distinct apprehension of their

meaning, but by the disposition of God's divine providence, expound the psalm, unto God incarnate, the Son of David.

2. But as I am not prone to be carried with a general stream of interpreters against probable discoveries of a safer course, so am I unwilling to be singular, or to venture upon narrow passages without a pilot. And a more skilful pilot in this case I could not have wished for than Theodoret, an ancient father of great judgment, and well deserving the style of *Theodoret the wise* or *discreet.* Now this grave and most discreet author in this particular argument whereof we treat, at what times and upon what occasions the psalms were written, conducts me thus far, that this cxviiith psalm was written after Israel returned from Babylon. Though the other stream which Mollerus and others follow be much broader, yet this narrow cut, which after Theodoret I take, will appear (I hope) upon due sounding deeper and safer. Theodoret's judgment is thus:

Et hic etiam hymnus est ab iis qui salutem a Deo consecuti sunt, allatus. Judæi namque post reversionem, cum omnes finitimi in unum coacti essent, atque etiam gentes alias et barbaras conflassent; deinde cum plagis a Deo illatis, profligati essent, secundum Joelis et Ezechielis et Micheæ et Zachariæ vaticinationem, hunc hymnum de gratiarum actione Deo afferunt.

" This is one of those hymns which were composed by such as obtained salvation or deliverance. The Jews, (after their return from Babylonish captivity,) when all bordering nations with other barbarous people at their instigation were gathered against them, after they saw them plagued by God, and their

malicious projects defeated according to the prophecies of Joel, Ezekiel, or of Zechariah, offer up this psalm of thanksgiving unto the Lord."

3. However St. Jerome, Mollerus, and others, do for particular circumstances of the composers, time, and occasions of this psalm follow another current than Theodoret did, yet we all meet in the main or ocean whereinto this psalm and others do exonerate themselves. For thus Mollerus concludeth his preface to this psalm:

Nec dubium est, Davidem in hoc psalmo, ut in plerisque aliis, magis ad Christum, cujus personam gerebat, quam ad se respexisse, ejusque in se imaginem exprimere voluisse. Atque inde factum est, ut quoties post illud tempus hic psalmus in synagoga a Judæis legeretur, ad Messiam fuerit accommodatus, et inter eas preces, quibus adventus ejus petebatur, relatus; ut testatur Hieronymus. Cumque ex assidua repetitione populo esset notissimus, hinc sumptus est versiculus in pompa illa, in qua Christus tanquam Rex hujus populi fuit exceptus, ut scribitur Matt. xxi.[m]

"There is no question but that this psalm (as most others of David's) had more special reference to Christ, whose person he did represent or typify, and whose portraiture he sought to set forth, than unto David himself. And hence it was, that as often as this psalm was recited in the Jewish synagogues it was always accommodated to the Messias, and reckoned amongst the solemn prayers and supplications for his coming unto them, as Hierom testifieth. Now seeing by its 859
frequent recital it was so well known to the vulgar sort, hence was that gratulatory versicle or song, *Hosanna*, taken up by them at that time wherein Christ was entertained by the multitude according

[m] Mollerus in argumento hujus Psalmi.

to the state or custom of their King or expected Messias."

4. Now seeing it is confessed by all, as well expressly by the Jews, as by matter of fact related by the evangelists, that this cxviiith psalm did contain a peculiar prophecy or testimony prophetically typical of the promised Messias's coming to Jerusalem, to ratify or fulfil whatsoever was foretold or portended by this solemnity wherein it was first used; no time or season can with greater probability be allotted, no occasion more fitly pretended for the first composing of it, than the extraordinary joy of the whole community of the people of Judah and Israel, as well priests as laics, upon the erection or finishing of the second temple. For within the compass of this season Haggai had prophesied that *the desire of all nations* should come unto that temple. The precise time, according to exact calculation, of his coming to Jerusalem, and of his death there, had been notified by Daniel not long before. The sacred history of the times wherein Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Haggai and Zechariah lived, bear plentiful record, that the people of Judah, Benjamin, or Israel, had no just cause or great occasions of rejoicing, according to that scale of joy and gladness which is charactered in the cxviiith psalm, immediately after their return from Babylonish captivity. For both neighbour nations, and the principal officers of this side Euphrates, of those kings unto whom they were subject, did partly by violence, partly by malicious suggestions for divers years, prohibit the erection of the temple, and the reedifying of Jerusalem. More fear than joy did possess this great people when they begun to erect the altar of the Lord, as may appear from Ezra iii. 4. And that was divers months before the foundation of the temple was laid, at which time

indeed there was much joy, especially amongst the people and younger sort; yet joy mixed with many tears of the ancient, especially priests and Levites, which had seen the former temple, (at least the foundation of it.) Ezra iii. 12, 13.

5. However, it is probable that this cxviiith psalm was in part composed upon the sight or view of the first foundation of the second temple: for Ezra tells us, that the priests and Levites, after the ordinance of David king of Israel, sung together by course in praising and giving thanks unto the Lord, *because he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever towards Israel.* And in this form of thanksgiving the cxviiith psalm begins and ends: *O give thanks unto the Lord; for his mercy endureth for ever. Let Israel now say, that his mercy endureth for ever.* vv. 1, 2. *O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever.* ver. 29. I am not forgetful, nor can the reader be ignorant, that there is another psalm, viz. the cxxxvith, in which this form of praise is more perpetual, as being the close or fall of every verse. 860 But that psalm (as I have many inducements to conceive) was composed long before the foundation of the temple was laid. But other psalms of thanksgiving there are besides these two, which were composed upon special occasions, and afterwards continued in their solemn feasts, with further additions and amplifications, as the like occasions of public joy did minister. For latter prophets, or men otherwise inspired by the Holy Ghost for that purpose, to intersert or add more plain or fuller expressions of David's or former prophets' intent or meaning in their form of thanksgiving, or to paraphrase upon them, was never unlawful, although they had added the same curse to such as should add unto or diminish their writings which is

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annexed unto the law of Moses, and the book of the Revelations. For no addition is forbidden but such as includeth a vitiation of the text, or such as pretendeth Divine authority when it hath it not.

6. But however this cxviiith psalm, or most part of it, might be begun upon the occasions forementioned by Ezra, yet some passages in it there are which in particular refer unto some one of the three great and anniversary solemnities; as that: *This is the day which the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it. Save now, O Lord, I beseech thee,* &c. vv. 24, 25. Now after the foundation of the temple was laid, there was no solemn feast in which this people's expression of joy and thanksgiving was so remarkable, or so peremptorily required, as in that feast of tabernacles or booths recorded by Nehemiah, chap. viii. A feast of tabernacles there was some few months after the foundation of the temple was laid by Zerubbabel and Jeshua the son of Jozadak, recorded by Ezra, iii. 4, &c. But that feast of tabernacles was solemnized *secundum quid*, only in respect of the peculiar daily sacrifices which the law in that month appointed to be offered. There is no mention in Ezra of their dwelling in booths, either in their public streets, upon their public houses, or in the courts of the Lord's house, which was not at that time builded. This part of that great solemnity had not been observed from the days of Joshua the son of Nun, until Nehemiah had put his peremptory commission for re-edifying Jerusalem in execution. *Nehemiah, which is the Tirshatha, and Ezra the priest the scribe, and the Levites that taught the people, said unto all the people, This day is holy unto the Lord your God; mourn not, nor weep. For all the people wept, when they heard the words of the law,* &c. *And they found written in*

the law which the Lord had commanded by Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month: and that they should publish and proclaim in all their cities, and in Jerusalem, saying, Go forth unto the mount, and fetch olive branches, and pine branches, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths. So the people went forth, and brought them, and made themselves booths, every one upon the roof of his house, and in their courts, and in the courts of the house of God, and in the street of the water gate of Ephraim. And all the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity made booths, and sat under the booths: for since the days of Jeshua the son of Nun unto that day had not the children of Israel done so. And there was very great gladness. Also day by day, from the first day unto the last day, he read in the book of the law of God. And they kept the feast seven days; and on the eighth day was a solemn assembly, according unto the manner. Nehem. viii. 9, &c. 14—18. This great day of the feast was that 861
anniversary solemnity wherein our Lord and Saviour, after the revolution of many years (how many I leave to the calculation of chronologers), did make that solemn proclamation unto the people assembled at the feast of tabernacles, John vii. 37—39: *In the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink. He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of running water. But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet given; because that Jesus was not yet glorified.*

7. It is very observable which is recorded by

St. John, chap. vii. 14, 15, that *about the midst of the feast, Jesus went into the temple and taught:* and so taught, that *the Jews marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters, seeing he never learned?* But to my apprehension it is more observable, and wanteth not a mystery, (though for the present I cannot sound it,) why our Saviour should begin to teach in the temple in *the midst of the feast,* not from the first day until the last, as Ezra the priest and scribe had done in the same feast mentioned by Nehemiah. His friends and kinsfolks had advised him to be at Jerusalem to shew himself at the beginning of the feast: *Now the Jews' feast of tabernacles was at hand. His brethren therefore said unto him, Depart hence, and go into Judæa, that thy disciples also may see the works that thou doest. For there is no man that doeth any thing in secret, and he himself seeketh to be known openly. If thou do these things, shew thyself to the world,* &c. *Then Jesus said unto them, My time is not yet come: but your time is always ready,* &c. *Go ye up unto this feast: I go not up yet unto this feast; for my time is not yet full come. When he had said these words unto them, he abode still in Galilee.* Howbeit, after his teaching three or four days at the least, and his solemn invitation of all men to come unto him in the great day of the feast, he was not publicly acknowledged for the Christ; but so acknowledged by some, and with demur or contradiction of others: *Then the Jews sought him at the feast, and said, Where is he? And there was much murmuring among the people concerning him: for some said, He is a good man: others said, Nay; but he deceiveth the people. Howbeit no man spake openly of him for fear of the Jews.* John vii. 11, 12, &c. But this verdict of him was

given up before he taught in the temple. After which time their suffrages varied, not only one from another, but from themselves: for upon that part of doctrine which he delivered from the 15th verse to the 25th, *some of them of Jerusalem said, Is not this he, whom they seek to kill? But, lo, he speaketh boldly, and they say nothing unto him. Do the rulers know indeed that this is the very Christ? Howbeit we know this man whence he is: but when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is. Then cried Jesus in the temple as he taught, saying, Ye both know me, and ye know whence I am: and I am not come of myself, but he that sent me is true, whom ye know not. But I know him: for I am from him, and he hath sent me. Then they sought to take him: but no man laid hands on him, because his hour was not yet come. And many of the people believed on him, and said, When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man hath done?* John vii. 25—31. But in the great and last day of the feast many of the people, after they had heard his solemn invitation, said, *Of a truth this is the Prophet. Others said, This is the Christ. But some said, Shall Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the scripture said, That Christ cometh of the seed* 862 *of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was? So there was a division among the people because of him. And some of them would have taken him; but no man laid hands on him,* vv. 40—44. For when the chief priests and Pharisees asked of the officers whom they had employed upon the demur or debatement of the people to attach him, ver. 32, *Why have ye not brought him?* the only answer they could get was this, *Never man spake like this man,* vv. 45, 46.

8. But however in this great feast he suffered such

contradictions of sinful men, open contradictions one to another, and secret contradictions in most individuals to their own consciences—for as he had told them, John vii. 28, *that they both knew him, and whence he was, and that he came not of himself,* albeit their passions would not permit them so to acknowledge him—yet his entertainment for the present was not so harsh and churlish (at the people's hand especially) as it was at the next solemn feast, in which he again did publish his commission, to wit, in the feast of the *encænia,* or dedication of the temple, immediately ensuing the forementioned feast of tabernacles. *There was a division* (saith St. John) *again among the Jews for these sayings. And many of them said, He hath a devil, and is mad; why hear ye him? Others said, These are not the words of him that hath a devil. Can a devil open the eyes of the blind? And it was at Jerusalem the feast of the dedication, and it was winter. And Jesus walked in the temple in Solomon's porch. Then came the Jews round about him, and said unto him, How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly. Jesus answered them, I told you, and ye believed not: the works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me,* &c. John x. 19, &c. Upon this avouchment that God was his Father, and that he and his Father were one, the Jews took up stones to stone him: *Jesus answered them, Many good works have I shewed you from my Father; for which of those works do ye stone me? The Jews answered him, saying, For a good work we stone thee not; but for blasphemy; and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself a God.* vv. 32, 33. *But he escaped out of their hand, and went away again beyond Jordan into the place where John at first baptized; and there*

he abode. And many resorted unto him, and said, John did no miracle: but all things that John spake of this man were true. And many believed on him there, vv. 39, 40, &c., more than had done at Jerusalem, unto which he did not come till the great and last feast of the passover, albeit he were invited or advised to repair thither rather than to remain in Herod's dominions. Luke xiii. 31, 32: *Then came certain Pharisees,* (inhabitants of Jerusalem, or their complices,) *saying unto him, Get thee out, and depart hence: for Herod will kill thee. And he said unto them, Go, tell that fox,* &c. *It cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem,* ver. 33, &c. He finally resolves them, Ye (to wit) of Jerusalem, *behold, your house is left unto you desolate: Ye shall not see me, until the time come when ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,* ver. 35. And after this manner he was saluted by men, women, and children; by all sorts, (unless it were the scribes and Pharisees,) at his coming to this great and last passover whereof I now treat. However, their crucifying of him some few days after, whom they acknowledged for their Lord and Messias, did both deserve and portend that utter desolation of city and temple which he had foretold in the words immediately going before: *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets,* 863 *and stonest them that are sent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thee,* &c. *Behold, your house is left unto you desolate.* But of the full importance of these words I have delivered my opinion elsewhere more at large. That Christ, after the feast of the dedication, mentioned John x, did remain where John at first baptized until some few days before the passover, is clear from that remarkable story concerning the raising of Lazarus from death, John xi. 6—10:

When he had heard therefore that he was sick, he abode two days still in the same place where he was. Then after that saith he to his disciples, Let us go into Judæa again. His disciples say unto him, Master, the Jews of late sought to stone thee; and goest thou thither again? Jesus answered, Are there not twelve hours in the day? If any man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world. But if a man walk in the night he stumbleth, because there is no light in him.

9. It is observable, that immediately before or in the time of these great and solemn feasts his fame was published for some rare miracle: *When Christ cometh,* (saith the people in the feast of tabernacles,) *will he do more miracles than this man hath done?* John vii. 31. The late miracle which occasioned the contradiction, or variety of opinion at the feast of the dedication of the temple, was the restoring of one who had been blind from his birth to perfect sight. You have the story at large, John ix. The last and greatest miracle which he did about Jerusalem, immediately before this last passover, and that which occasioned him to be proclaimed the Christ, not by himself as at other times, nor by his disciples only, but by the unanimous consent of that mighty assembly, besides the priests, and scribes, and Pharisees, was the raising of Lazarus to life after he had been four days dead. And thus far I can assent unto some modern writers, that the multitude then assembled, especially the strangers, did purposely seek at this feast to redeem their former contempt or slight esteem of him at the feast of tabernacles and dedication beforementioned, by their forwardness to entertain and salute him as their glorious King, the long expected Son of David.

CHAP. XXI.

That the Messias was to be proclaimed King of Zion at some one or other of their great and solemn Feasts, was a Prenotion or received Opinion amongst the Jews.

1. FROM the evangelical history of our Saviour's appearances at the solemn feasts celebrated at Jerusalem, and from the debates between his auditors, especially in the last year of his presence there, the intelligent reader will easily collect without further advertisement, that it was a common prenotion or received opinion amongst this people, that their expected Messias should be manifested or acknowledged at some one or other of their anniversary feasts, of which the passover was the principal, or (as Chrysostom with some other of the ancients instyle it) *metropolitan*. But in which of these three solemn feasts the Son of David should be proclaimed King, and made (by God) their Lord and Christ, was, if not 864
to all, yet to most of them, even to his followers, (whether apostles or disciples,) uncertain, until the event did determine the doubt unto such of them as God did grant eyes to see, and ears to hear, and hearts to understand the mysteries of salvation, respectively prefigured by these three solemn feasts, and really accomplished in this great feast of the passover, wherein they crucified JESUS of NAZARETH, (their late proclaimed King,) and in the feast of pentecost next following. The full intent and purport of this last observation, as well the affirmative as negative part, to wit, the certainty that he was to be proclaimed King at some one of those feasts, and the uncertainty at which of those he should be so proclaimed, is included in those words of St.John before cited to another purpose: *These things understood not his disciples at the*

first; that is, they did not lay them to heart, nor rightly apprehend the melodious harmony between the solemnity of that time, and the events forepictured by that and other solemnities: *but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him, and that they had done these things unto him,* chap. xii. 16; that is, they first considered, and then remembered, that his glorious exaltation was foretold, typically prefigured by that solemn feast, and really acknowledged by the multitude.

2. That the solemnity of dwelling in booths, used in the feast of tabernacles, or the exigence or occasion in whose remembrance that feast was instituted, (which was their special relief from extremity of heat and thirst in the wilderness,) had special reference to the feast of pentecost, is too apparent to be contradicted by any good Christian from that of our Saviour, John vii. 37, &c.: *In the last day, that great day of the feast,* (to wit, of the tabernacles,) *Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst,* &c. *This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet given; because that Jesus was not yet glorified.* But shortly after his glorification, the Spirit of God, the true water of life, was poured out more plentifully upon all flesh capable of it, than water had been unto Israel in their extremity of thirst in the wilderness; or than that water which was used (I know not whether by precept or tradition) to be poured out upon the altar in the feast of tabernacles, especially upon that great day of the feast, wherein our Saviour spake these words. But in what place of scripture it was foresignified, that *waters should flow out of their bellies that believed on him,* is not pertinent to our present purpose. God's special protection, not of Israel only according to

the flesh, but of his universal church, from spiritual enemies, under the shadow of his wings, was more peculiar than the palm trees or willows of the brook, or booths made of them, could afford to the sons of Jacob against the parching heat of the sun, after our Saviour was glorified. As for those words forecited, Levit. xxiii. 43, *I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt*, they refer (if good writers be not mistaken) to Exodus xii. 37: *The children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth;* that is, *a place of booths,* or *tabernacles,* or as to a northern borderer might be more fully expressed, *to a place of shields* or *summer houses.* Yet (if I be not mistaken) the forecited place of Leviticus, concerning the occasion of instituting the feast of tabernacles or shields, hath reference also to that of Exodus xv. 27; *And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and seventy palm* 865 *trees: and they encamped there by the waters.*

3. Out of the former discussion it is apparent that the feast of tabernacles had reference unto the feast of pentecost, and that the commandments of carnal rejoicing in that feast were spiritually accomplished in the pentecost next following our Saviour's passion. But what special reference had the same feast of tabernacles unto the solemnity of the passover? Surely the same which other solemn feasts of the seventh month (which was a month of legal solemnities) had. Now that the feast of atonement or expiation, which was the tenth day of that month, (next after the feast of trumpets, and some four days before the feast of tabernacles,) was punctually accomplished at the feast of the passover wherein our Saviour was crucified, Maldonate himself, the most rigid opposer of the harmony betwixt these solemnities, and the last feast of the

passover, would not have denied if this interrogatory had been put unto him. It is true, that the mysteries foreshadowed at this feast by the scapegoat, by the washing of the high priest, and by some other ceremonies, were fulfilled *in die suo*, that is, upon the tenth day of the seventh month, in which our Saviour (as with the consent of best modern writers I have elsewhere observed) was baptized [a]. But for the mysteries prefigured by the sacrifices, whose blood was brought into the sanctuary upon the tenth of the seventh month, these were not accomplished until the entrance of our Redeemer CHRIST JESUS into the most holy place was visibly signified by the rending of the veil in the temple. It is most true again, that the legal feasts of trumpets, which was the first solemnity of the seventh month, was evangelically fulfilled by St. John Baptist's proclamation and baptism in the beginning of the same month. But as for the feast of tabernacles, albeit the solemnity thereof was in part fulfilled at our Saviour's appearance, and proclamation of his celestial ambassage by himself upon the great day of that feast, as was but now observed; yet the full accomplishment of the solemnities then used, or of the mysteries prefigured by their public rejoicing in that feast especially, was not exhibited until our Saviour's triumphant ingress into Jerusalem, four days before the feast of the passover, wherein he suffered for us. Many amongst the multitude, at the feast of tabernacles immediately before, did acknowledge him for the expected Messias, or for the Prophet whom God had promised to raise up amongst them like unto Moses. None of them then did, either out of express apprehension of his Deity, or by emblematical significations of their allegiance unto him, acknow-

[a] See Christ's Answer unto John's Question, vol. vi. p. 301, &c.

ledge or proclaim him to be the God of their fathers, who had spoken to Moses in the wilderness; or that very God, unto whose honour the feast of tabernacles was first instituted, and so continued to their posterity. This acknowledgment was first made (though unwittingly) by the multitude, which came to greet his welcome, when he came from Bethany to Jerusalem, over the mount Olivet. But how was he at that time (though unwittingly) so acknowledged by the multitude?

4. Although man be a reasonable and projecting creature, yet the cunningest contrivances of wisest men are always moderated by the all-seeing wisdom of their Creator: and the execution of their projects, although they reach unto or hit the mark proposed by them, do often glance or fall upon some other object than they thought of; and oftentimes, as well 866
the intention as contrivance for its execution, are put upon them by secret instinct. As in that good woman which poured the precious ointment on our Saviour's head whilst he sat at meat in the house of Simon the leper, Matt. xxvi. 7. Few, I think, upon good consideration, will suspect any further intent than a longing desire to testify her love, her loyalty, and observance of him, as a gracious man and a special benefactor. Yet in the disposition of Divine Providence, working in her by secret instinct, to testify her love rather in this kind than in any other, she did exhibit an undoubted presage of his death and burial approaching, as our Saviour himself interprets the fact: *When his disciples saw it, they had indignation, saying, To what purpose is this waste? for this ointment might have been sold for much, and given to the poor. When Jesus understood it, he said unto them, Why trouble ye the woman? for she hath wrought a good*

work upon me. For ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not always. For in that she hath poured this ointment on my body, she did it for my burial. Verily I say unto you, Wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her. Matt. xxvi. 8—13. As he was willing to receive the accustomed funeral rites of his country at this woman's hands before his death, so was it his pleasure to have his coronation over the kingdom of David, the dedication of his glorious temple, his triumph over the grave, death and hell, solemnly celebrated before his resurrection from the dead: for it was lawful for this lion of Judah to triumph over death before the victory which was to be purchased by his death. The honour done unto him at this solemnity, and the severity of his sentence against Jerusalem in the midst of this jubilee (methinks), exhibit such a glimpse of his second appearance in majesty unto judgment, as the transfiguration on the mount did of his glory after his resurrection. He had told the Jews, John v. 21—23, *As the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them; even so the Son quickeneth whom he will. For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son: that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son honoureth not the Father which hath sent him.* A full proof of his power to pierce the monuments by his word, and to make the graves give up their dead, had been a few days before this solemnity exhibited in his raising of Lazarus: which, as was before observed, did specially occasion the multitude assembled at Jerusalem to meet and congratulate him, not as the Son of David only, but

as David's Lord. For greater honour (though they intended not so much) had not been done, either by David before the ark of the Lord, or by their forefathers unto God himself in the feast of tabernacles.

5. That the feast of tabernacles was a feast of joy, instituted to the honour of that God who had redeemed Israel from Egyptian bondage, who had protected them in Succoth, and in the wilderness in their whole journey towards Canaan, is a point unquestionable either amongst good Christians or malignant Jews. That the carrying of palm branches in triumphant manner, skipping, dancing, or singing, was the peculiar character or expression of that joy wherewith this people was commanded to rejoice before the Lord their God in this feast of tabernacles above all others, may be ratified by the tradition and practice of the Jews, whilst they had liberty and opportunity to celebrate 867
this feast, especially from Nehemiah's time. And inasmuch as the great multitude assembled at the feast of passover, wherein our Saviour did accomplish the laws and rites of the paschal lamb, did present him with this kind of honour accustomed in the feast of tabernacles, they evidently declare unto the world, though not by express confession, or distinct apprehension of his eternal Deity, (as was said before,) yet by gesture and deportment put upon them by secret instinct, that this Jesus whom they thus welcomed in the mount of Olives, was that very God and Lord of hosts who had given them victory over Pharaoh and his host in the Red sea; who had protected them and refreshed them in the wilderness in all their distresses, and in their whole journey to the land of Canaan; that very only God, in memory of whose gracious goodness towards them the feast of tabernacles was first instituted by Moses, afterward more solemnly celebrated by Joshua,

and upon some interruption in matter of ceremonies revived or restored by Nehemiah.

6. As for the doctrine of the latter Jews, (such, I mean, as from our Saviour's time have recollected the practice of their forefathers in this feast of tabernacles,) I refer the ingenuous reader to the commentators upon Leviticus xxiii, and upon Nehemiah. The garb and gesture of the Jews in bearing of palm branches at the feast of tabernacles, (if we may believe these men's relations,) was not much unlike the deportment of the ancient Grecians after victory, whether in serious wars or in Olympic games; or rather the deportment of the ancient Grecians was by superstitious imitation borrowed from the laws and customs of the ancient Hebrews. The practice of the Grecians and most other nations in their victories is recorded by Pausanias.

Wreaths or branches of palms are a set reward for many prizes, and in every place doth adorn the right hand of the vanquishers; which custom is said to have had its first original after this wise: It is reported that Theseus, being returned from Crete, did institute certain games at Delos, in the honour of Apollo, and did reward the victorers with palms: of which palms Homer also maketh mention in those verses wherein he recites the mournful oration of Ulysses to the daughter of Alcinous[b].

That the bearing of palm branches in their right hands was a general emblem (amongst most nations)

[b] Οἱ δὲ ἀγῶνες φοίνικος ἔχουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ στέφανον, ἐς δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν ἔστι, καὶ πανταχοῦ τῷ νικῶντι ἐστιθέμενος φοίνιξ. ἐνομίσθη δὲ ἐπὶ τοιῷδε. Θησέα ἀνακομιζόμενον ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶν ἐν Δήλῳ ἀγῶνα ποιήσασθαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, στεφανοῦν δὲ αὐτὸν τοὺς νικῶντας τῷ φοίνικι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἄρξαι λέγουσιν ἐντεῦθεν. τοῦ δὲ φοίνικος τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ μνήμην ἐποιήσατο καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ὀδυσσέως ἱκεσίᾳ πρὸς τὴν Ἀλκίνου θυγατέρα. —Pausanias in Arcadicis, lib. 8. pag. 532.

of victory, I willingly assent to this learned antiquary; for *palmam obtinere* is as much in Latin writers as *victoriam obtinere*. But that this device should take its original from Theseus I cannot be persuaded; because the sacred story of the Old Testament, and the prophecies or visions in the New, do testify this custom to be more ancient than Theseus amongst God's people, and an emblem of the victory of God's saints over death and the grave. To omit other places, that of St. John, Revel. vii, is most pregnant: *After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms* 868 *in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.* vv. 9, 10. This manner of congratulation used by the saints is but a more distinct and full expression of the people's voice when they cried *Hosanna to the Son of David,* which, as was observed before, was both precatory and congratulatory: and did withal, according to the propriety of the Hebrew, import thus much: 'Lord, grant salvation to the Son of David, that he may save us.' So that both the people (though they unwittingly and more unconstantly) and the saints of all nations, expressly and constantly, do *honour the Son even as they honour the Father.*

CHAP. XXII.

That the Honour done to our Saviour at his coming to Jerusalem did (though not in the distinct Apprehension of the Multitude, or of his Disciples) concludently declare him to be the Son of God, or the God of their Fathers.

1. THE former assertion concerning the real exhibition of that honour unto the Son of David, at this memorable passover, which, by the intendment of the law, Levit. xxiii, was directed unto God alone in the feast of tabernacles, is more remarkably implied in the undoubted accomplishment of the feast of dedication, next before the same passover; especially if we compare the often mentioned congratulations of the people crying *Hosanna to the Son of David*, with our Saviour's actions and doctrine (both of them being accurately recorded by the evangelists) between his entering into the temple and the time of his agony. The feast of the dedication, or *encænia*, in the ninth month, heretofore handled in part, was a feast instituted in imitation of the feast of tabernacles, whose anniversary celebration was immediately and peremptorily commanded by God himself, Moses at that time being his sole agent or ambassador: whereas the feast of dedication, or *encænia*, was instituted by the visible church at a time wherein there was no prophet in Israel, no man endued with the spirit of Moses, nor no immediate or extraordinary revelation from God. For a little before the institution of the feast of dedication, the author of psalm lxxiv. had thus complained: *We see not our signs, there is no more any prophet, neither is there among us any that knoweth how long.* And this psalm, as best interpreters are of opinion, was composed in the time of Antiochus's raging tyranny over Jerusalem, over the people of God and his temple. Both parts of

this observation may be confirmed by the author of the first book of Maccabees: *Then Judas appointed certain men to fight against those that were in the fortress, until he had cleansed the sanctuary. So he chose priests of blameless conversation, such as had pleasure in the law: who cleansed the sanctuary, and bare out the defiled stones into an unclean place. And when as they consulted what to do with the altar of burnt offerings, which was profaned; they thought it best to pull it down, lest it should be a reproach to them, because the heathen had defiled it: wherefore they pulled it down, and laid up the stones in the* 869 *mountain of the temple in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to shew what should be done with them.* chap. iv. 41—46. And after they had cleansed the sanctuary, they restored the holy vessels, and furnished the temple of the Lord. *On the five and twentieth day of the ninth month, which is called the month Casleu, in the hundred forty and eighth year, they rose up betimes in the morning, and offered sacrifices according to the law upon the new altar of burnt offerings, which they had made. Look, at what time and what day the heathen had profaned it, even in that was it dedicated with songs, and citherns, and harps,* &c. vv. 52—54. *Moreover Judas and his brethren with the whole congregation of Israel ordained, that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their season from year to year by the space of eight days, from the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, with mirth and gladness,* ver. 59. The manner of celebrating this feast is more fully expressed by the author of the second book of Maccabees, chap. x. 5, 6, 7: *Upon the sameday that the strangers profaned the temple, on the very same day it was cleansed again, even the five and twentieth day of*

the same month, which is Casleu. And they kept eight days with gladness, as in the feast of tabernacles, remembering that not long before they had held the feast of tabernacles, when as they wandered in the mountains and dens like beasts. Therefore they bare branches, and fair boughs, and palms also, and sang psalms unto him that had given them good success in cleansing his temple. They also ordained by a common decree, that every year those days should be kept of the whole nation of the Jews. And so it was continued unto the last year of our Saviour's pilgrimage here on earth.

2. It hath been long ago well observed by the learned and judicious Hooker, and (if my memory fail not) touched upon by his ancient, the learned examiner of the Trent Council, that albeit the feast of the dedication was not instituted by Moses, nor ratified by any of his successors in the prophetical function, yet was it graced by our Lord and Saviour's presence and observation of it, as appears from John x. So far was he from censuring sacred solemnities, though not immediately instituted by God, but by the ordinary authority of the visible church, so long as their institutions did not vitiate, but rather enlarge their laws and ceremonies registered by Moses, or, to use the phrase of the Hebrew rabbins, did not contradict the stations of mount Sinai. For he came to Jerusalem at this feast, though celebrated in the winter, and taught the people not to take the solemnity for a will-worship, but to expound the true intent and prefigurations of it, to try whether they would acknowledge him to be that God who had given their fore-elders good success in cleansing the altar and sanctuary from the pollutions of the heathen. But so far was his own people from acknowledging thus much, that they took up stones to

throw at him for his doctrine. Yet at the feast of the passover next ensuing, they did, by matter of fact, or emblematical expressions of their loyalty towards him, (being thereunto led by secret instinct beyond their actual apprehension,) acknowledge him for their very God, who had given them victory over Antiochus, over Gorgias, and other relics of his malicious associates or instruments. For thus much their bearing of branches of palms, of olives, or other trees, used in the honour of God at the feast of dedication, or that other of tabernacles, and their crying *Hosanna* unto him, did con- 870
cludently import, by way of such benign interpretation of their meaning as loving fathers make of their lisping children's expressions, or other significations of their desires by bodily and visible gesture, though not by articulate voice. Immediately after he had, in the substance of man, received from them those honorary presents which were due to God alone, he went into the temple to cleanse and purify it from the abuses of moneychangers or merchandisers, wherewith upon politic pretences or sophisms of state for present gain, it was at this time no less polluted by the seed of Abraham, than it had been by Antiochus, or other heathens, before the feast of the dedication was instituted. Once before (as we read John ii.) he had reformed the like abuses, but then in the name and authority of his Father; but now he visits the same temple, and gives sentence in his own name: *It is written,* (not *My Father's house,* but) *My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves.* Matt. xxi. 13.

3. This second reformation he executed so peremptorily, that the chief priests and elders of the people came the next morning into the temple as he was teaching, and demanded of him, *By what authority*

doest thou these things? Matt. xxi. 23. To this question he answers only by a cross interrogatory, unto which they could not reply: *I also will ask you one thing, which if ye tell me, I in like wise will tell you by what authority I do these things. The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven, or of men? And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven; he will say unto us, Why did ye not then believe him? But if we shall say, Of men; we fear the people; for all hold John as a prophet. And they answered Jesus, and said, We cannot tell. And he said unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.* vv. 24—27. If they had (as their consciences did suggest unto them) acknowledged the baptism of John to have been from heaven, they must withal have acknowledged him to have been the second Adam, or Redeemer of mankind; to have descended from heaven truly heavenly; not the Son of David only, but the true Son of God their Lord and God, as the little children the evening before (though not perhaps by express apprehension) had proclaimed him: and so proclaimed him, that the chief priests and scribes could not contradict his most divine exposition of their meaning, or rather of the psalmist, whose prophetical hymn God had appointed them now to act: *When the chief priests* (saith St. Matthew) *saw the wonderful things that he did, and the children crying in the temple, and saying, Hosanna to the Son of David; they were sore displeased, and said unto him, Hearest thou what these say?* As if they had thus meant: 'We see thou art ready to play at small games, rather than sit out, being thus content to solace thyself with the applause of little children, which know not what they say; as lately thou didst with the congratulations of idiots and fishermen thy

followers.' But children and fools (such as they accounted our Saviour's followers) do ofttimes speak the very truth: and he who was truth itself doth justify these little children as God's ambassadors for this purpose. For so he replies, *Yea; have ye* (who boast so much of your skill in scripture) *never read, Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?* And he left them as silent for any matter of just reply, as he had done their father the devil, when he sent him away with that *item*, or *scriptum est, Avoid, Satan: for it is written, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt* 871
thou serve. And however the malice of these chief priests and scribes did in the next morning revive, yet the testimony alleged by him in justification of the children was so pregnantly concludent of his purpose, that Satan himself, had he been present, could not have replied unto it.

4. For that viiith psalm, as the Jews cannot deny, was composed in honour of the God of Israel: that it was also prophetical, and to be fulfilled in time, is to all Christians apparent from our apostle's allegation of another place to the like purpose, Hebrews ii. 6, 7, of whose fulfilling hereafter. The first part of the prophecy, (that יְהוָה אֲדֹנֵינוּ, *God their Lord*, which, as hath been before observed[a], was the peculiar title of God the Son, or of God to be manifested in the flesh,) was never punctually fulfilled, until the children cried *Hosanna to the Son of David* in the temple. In these congratulations they did, by Divine instinct, or disposition of the all-seeing Providence, proclaim the expected Son of David to be יְהוָה אֲדֹנֵינוּ, that very God their Lord, in whose praise this psalm was con-

[a] In the Seventh Book, vol. viii. p. 374.

ceived. The babes then did spell the prophet's meaning not amiss: but our Saviour, and the present circumstances of the time, did put their lisping syllables together more rightly, and fully answerable to the meaning of the prophetical vision: for so it followeth in the same psalm, that this God their Lord did therefore *ordain his praise out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, because of his enemies, that he might still the enemy and avenger*, psalm viii. 2. And so the malicious priests and scribes were put to a nonplus upon our Saviour's allegation of this prophecy in justification of himself and of these infants, whose testimonies they sought to elevate, and to impute the acceptance of it to his folly. Now albeit our Saviour left them at this nonplus for the present, yet within a day or two after he putteth the very Pharisees, the most learned of them, to a greater nonplus by another testimony, parallel to this of the viiith psalm: *While the Pharisees* (saith St. Matthew) *were gathered together, Jesus asked them, saying, What think ye of Christ? whose son is he? They say unto him, The son of David. He saith unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool? If David then call him Lord, how is he his son? And no man was able to answer him a word, neither durst any man from that day forth ask him any more questions.* chap. xxii. 41—46. All this argues a full conviction of their consciences; and that unless they had suffered their splenetic passions to conquer their consciences for the present, or had hoodwinked their intellectuals with malicious habits of their hearts, they must of necessity have confessed as much as the little children (in this expression) before had done, to wit, that he was not

only the promised Son of David, but that the promised Son of David was to be David's Lord, this whole people's God and Lord. For it is observable, that David in the beginning of the cxth psalm saith not, *Jehovah said unto Jehovah,* but *Jehovah said unto Adonai, Sit thou on my right hand;* not thereby denying that this Adonai was to be Jehovah, but that he was to be (as the author of the viiith psalm saith) both his God and his Lord. It is again (to my present apprehension) observable, that after Nehemiah had revived the solemnity of the feast of tabernacles, and moved the people to renew the covenant which their forefathers had made for faithful observance of God's 872
laws given by Moses, they nuncupate this their solemn vow unto יְהוָה אֲדֹנֵינוּ, to *the Lord our God: And the rest of the people,* (to wit, all besides those who had sealed to the covenant before with Nehemiah,) *the priests, the singers, the Nethinims, and all they that had separated themselves from the people of the lands unto the law of God, their wives, their sons, and their daughters, every one having knowledge, and having understanding; they clave to their brethren, their nobles, and entered into a curse, and into an oath, to walk in God's law, which was given by Moses the servant of God, and to observe and do all the commandments of the Lord our Lord, and his judgments and his statutes.* Nehem. x. 28, 29, &c. But this solemn vow and covenant, confirmed by oath, of keeping God's laws, was more shamefully broken by this perverse and gainsaying generation, than those laws themselves had been by Antiochus or other heathen which had never sworn unto them. For the chief priests, the scribes, the elders, notwithstanding the former convictions of their consciences, hold on to persecute this God their Lord, unto whose honour

their forefathers had dedicated this vow, with greater cruelties and more malicious indignities than Antiochus had used towards the meanest of his people; and so at length to bring that curse annexed to the former vow upon themselves and upon their children unto this day.

5. Thus much of the prophecies or foresignifications of his triumphant ingress into Jerusalem, and of his entertainment there until the feast of the legal pass-over, whose mystery he did accomplish by his death: points not handled either so fully or so punctually as was requisite by any commentators, postillers, or others, whom I have read. And this hath emboldened me to enlarge my meditations upon this small part of my comments on the Creed. As for the prophecies, types, or other foresignifications of what he did or suffered from the time of his sacred supper until his resurrection from the dead, these have been so plentifully and so punctually handled by many, especially by the learned Gerard, that much cannot be added without a great deal of superfluous pains. And yet, I know, it will be expected that I say somewhat of this argument.

SECTION IV. 873

The Evangelical Relations of the Indignities done unto our Saviour by sinful Men, and of his Patience in suffering them, respectively prefigured and foretold by the Prophets and other sacred Writers: or, a Comment upon the Evangelical History, from the Institution of his Supper unto his Death and Burial.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Betraying of our Saviour, of his Apprehension, and Dismission of his Disciples: and how they were foretold or prefigured in the Old Testament.

1. Of the sweet harmony between the institution, occasion, and celebration of the legal passover, and the continuation of the Lord's supper or sacrament of his body and blood, instituted in lieu, or rather in remembrance of the accomplishing of it, I have in other meditations delivered my mind at large. And if it shall please the Lord God to grant me life and health, what I have either uttered in sermons, or otherways conceived concerning this argument, shall be communicated to this Church wherein I live, (if not to others,) in the article of the Catholic Church, which did begin to be on earth from our Saviour's resurrection, or from his ascension into heaven and descending of the Holy Ghost. At the accomplishment of the legal passover by the institution of the grand mystery or sacrament prefigured by it, our Lord and Saviour was betrayed by his unfaithful friend and servant Judas, yet by his prodition consecrated to be that Lamb of God which

the paschal lamb did prefigure; that Lamb of God which was to take away the sins of the world, of which sins the annual offering of the paschal lamb, or other legal sacrifices whatsoever, were but anniversary commemorations or remembrances that sin did still reign throughout the world. The treason of Judas was expressly foretold, (and perhaps prefigured by treason practised against the psalmist,) psalm xli. 9: *Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me.* By whom, or upon what occasion soever, this psalm was composed, certain it is, the psalmist, according to the literal and historical sense, did act
874 his own part with sensible feeling of present infirmities, which did mystically prefigure more just occasions which the promised Messias should have to take up the same complaint. Judas did eat of his bread; did swallow the very sop which was prepared for himself at that very time, when, by the instigation of the devil, he resolved to betray him. So that this psalm (as hath been observed before) was fulfilled in CHRIST, both according to the mystical, and the most punctual, exquisite, literal sense. So was that other complaint, whether of the same psalmist or of some other: *For it is not an open enemy that hath done me this dishonour; for then I could have borne it: neither was it mine adversary that did magnify himself against me; for then peradventure I would have hid myself from him: but it was even thou, my companion, my guide, and mine own familiar friend. We took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends:* psalm lv. 12—14. Judas had often accompanied our Saviour whilst he taught in the temple, but especially at this last feast of the passover, wherein he did for four days together frequent the temple,

from morning till evening, disputing with the learned, and catechising the vulgar and ignorant. And our Saviour, to notify this prophecy to be exactly fulfilled by Judas, saluteth him in the name of *a friend*, while he comes to betray him.

2. His treachery against his friendly and loving Lord was much the fouler, by reason of the long communion with him both at table and at sacred offices. This treachery was expressly foreshadowed by Ahithophel's treason against David, of whom it is probable the former complaints were literally meant. Both the treasons were abominably wicked, but Ahithophel's more generous, Judas's most basely wicked: for he had no provocation to meditate revenge upon his Master, who had never done him nor any living soul wrong, but went about doing good to all, and healing all that sought to him for help, though possessed with devils. But this kind of healing Judas did not seek; but rather, through entertainment of greedy and covetous projects, did invite the devil to enter into his heart at that very time wherein the door of saving health and entrance into the kingdom of heaven was to be set open to all. Ahithophel had some pretence or provocation to revenge himself upon his master, by reason of the indignity done unto his family, and staining of his blood by David, in defiling his near kinswoman or niece, Bathsheba. Yet was Ahithophel's malice towards David's person more bitter: for he sought his life, and resolved to wreak his foehood upon him in the highest degree; and had achieved his purpose, so Absalom would have hearkened so well to his second advice as he did to his first. His first advice, which was full of revengeful retaliation for David's folly with Bathsheba, we have recorded 2 Samuel xvi. 20—22: *Then said Absalom*

to Ahithophel, Give counsel among you what we shall do. And Ahithophel said unto Absalom, Go in unto thy father's concubines, which he hath left to keep the house; and all Israel shall hear that thou art abhorred of thy father: then shall the hands of all that are with thee be strong. So they spread Absalom a tent upon the top of the house; and Absalom went in unto his father's concubines in the sight of all Israel. Moreover Ahithophel said unto Absalom, Let me now choose out twelve thousand men, and I will arise and pursue after David this night: and I will come upon him while he is weary and weak handed, and will make him afraid: and all the
875 *people that are with him shall flee; and I will smite the king only: and I will bring back all the people unto thee: the man whom thou seekest is as if all returned: so all the people shall be in peace.* chap. xvii. 1, 2, 3. *And the saying pleased Absalom well, and all the elders of Israel* for a while. But after Ahithophel saw this his second and more deadly project defeated by the contrary counsel of Hushai, he gave his enterprise and himself for lost: and in deep melancholy (yet willing to set his house in order) went immediately and hanged himself. Judas in like manner, after the chief priests and elders had dashed his plot, which was only to gain some money, and their favour for his grateful service, without any desire of blood, did cast away the hire of his treason, and himself with it. But of his casting down the money in the temple, and the manner of his fearful end, there will be fitter occasion to say somewhat hereafter[b].

3. David, after he had been assuredly informed of Absalom's conspiracy against him, forsook Jerusalem; and he and all his train, or necessary attendance, went

[b] Chap. 26.

on their bare feet, with their heads covered and weeping, *over the brook Kidron*, and *along the mount of Olives*, 2 Sam. xv. 23. 30. And thus the Son of David, a little after he saw Judas resolved to betray him, or rather after it pleased him to take notice of the conspiracy against him between Judas and the chief priests and elders, marched the same way with a lesser train, accompanied only with his disciples, but with more full assurance of their deliverance from present danger than David's great train had, because he carried the true ark of the Lord in his breast, whose type or shadow, David, being uncertain or doubtful of the event, sent back again to Jerusalem, with the priests that did wait upon it. Yet he himself went over the brook Kidron with a sadder heart than David his father had done. David and his train, though much greater, and better able to resist the violence of the pursuer than his train was, marched further in that night wherein they fled from Absalom than the mount of Olives. The Son of David took up his station in a garden, near about the mount of Olives, and there expected the encounter of the arch Ahithophel, (which had vanquished the first Adam in a garden,) now attended with a greater host of infernal associates than Ahithophel did require of Absalom for the surprisal of David and his train, about the same place, or not far beyond it, 2 Sam. xvii.

4. When I behold my Saviour in that heavy plight and dejected posture, described by the evangelist, prostrating himself on his knees and face to the earth, yet sending out these ejaculations unto heaven, *Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me*, methinks I see the exquisite accomplishment of the psalmist's complaint, charactering his own woful case for the present, yet by way of prophecy or prefiguration of

more just cause which the promised Messias should have of uttering the like complaint, who was, as he saw, to partake more deeply of his grievances and afflictions, though not of his passion or impatience in them. For this Sun of righteousness was willing to suffer with all submission to his heavenly Father's will whatsoever any of his forerunning shadows had suffered, either immediately from the hand of God, or by the violence of men, and to suffer them without any token of grudging or impatience. The complaint of the psalmist, who did foreshadow the dejected estate of the Son of God in that hour of temptation, we have set
876 down, psalm xxxviii. 4: *My sins are gone over my head: and they are like a sore burden, too heavy for me to bear.* But the heavy burden, not of the psalmist's sins alone, but of the sins of the world, was now laid upon the Son of man in the garden, and did deject him to the ground. But how patiently soever he did bear or fall down under this burden, yet he stood in need of comfort from heaven, as his forerunners in far less anguish had done. And if we would take St. Luke's relation of the angel's coming to support and comfort him in this his weakness, into serious consideration, we may have a brief, yet a most true and punctual commentary upon that prophecy, psalm viii, *Thou hast made him for a little while lower than the angels;* to wit, as he was the Son of man, though never ceasing to be the Son of God. For the most valiant general that is, which stands in need of support or help from his meanest soldier, is for the time being lower than he is which lends him his hand, or helps him up, being thrown down or prostrate. Now this our chief Leader's agony, and the time between his apprehension and his death, was the only time, that *little while*, whereof the psalmist speaks, wherein Christ

Jesus, as man, was made lower than the angels, lower than the ordinary sons of men; for he was, as another psalmist in his person complains, *a worm, and no man.* But immediately after this bitter agony, the strength and vigour of the Sun of righteousness, which for a time was eclipsed or overcast with a bloody sweat, did break forth afresh, and though in the night time did no less dazzle and astonish the armed band which came with Judas to apprehend him, than the light which shone at midday did St. Paul when he was armed with authority to attach his followers. For immediately after that cup which he prayed against was passed from him, *He knowing all things* (saith St. John) *that should come upon him, went forth, and said unto them* that came to apprehend him, *Whom seek ye? They answered him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith unto them, I am he. And Judas also, which betrayed him, stood with them. As soon then as he had said unto them, I am he, they went backward, and fell to the ground. Then asked he them again, Whom seek ye? And they said, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus answered, I have told you that I am he: if therefore ye seek me, let these go their way: that the saying might be fulfilled, which he spake, Of them which thou gavest me have I lost none.* chap. xviii. 4—9. Here was a true document both of his royal and spiritual power: of his royal power, in that he could command them to forbear any violence towards his disciples, yea, not to oppose violence offered unto one of their company: for *Simon Peter* (as St. John saith) *having a sword drew it, and smote the high priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. The servant's name was Malchus,* ver. 10, &c. St. Luke recordeth, *that he touched his ear, and healed him:* so far was he from all desire of revenge upon his

enemies. This was an act of his power spiritual: so was that likewise in protecting his disciples from danger, as well of soul as of body: for, as St. John (to my apprehension) intimates, if they had been put unto the same fiery trial unto which he himself was exposed, they had denied him and their former faith. Therefore he commanded his apprehenders to let them go their way, that the saying might be fulfilled which he spake, (some few hours before,) *Of them which thou gavest me have I lost none*, John xviii. 9. So he had said, John xvii. 11, 12: *And now I am no more in the world, but these are in the world, and I come*
877 *to thee. Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are. While I was with them in the world, I kept them in thy name: those that thou gavest me I have kept, and none of them is lost, but the son of perdition.* Either Judas was never one of them whom his Father had given him, or at least, at this time, had given himself to his father the devil.

5. But as one and the same prophecy may be often fulfilled by events much distant in time, so may divers prophecies much distant for time be accomplished in one and the same event, in the same point of time; as in this dismission of Jesus's disciples, both his own prediction (as St. John tells us) was fulfilled, and another prophecy likewise, as we may gather from St. Mark, or rather from our Saviour's exposition recorded by the evangelist, Mark xiv. 27: *Jesus saith unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night: for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.* This smiting of the shepherd was, amongst other prophecies, both foretold and prefigured (as is probable) by the death of Josiah: unto which most refer that of Jeremiah,

Lament. iv. 20: *The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits, of whom we said Under his shadow we shall live among the heathen.* Some there are which refer this complaint unto the captivity of Zedekiah, but not so pertinently or considerately as most other of their meditations or observations would occasion the reader to expect. For the prophet Jeremiah did never conceive such hope of Zedekiah or Jehoiakim, as the deep strain of this particular threne or throb doth import. No son of good Josiah was either in life or death such a type of the Lord's promised Anointed as himself had been. From the hour of his death until the return of his people from Babylonish captivity, Jerusalem and Judah did not see one joyful day; the light of God's countenance did not shine upon them; as the history of the Old Testament, especially of the books of Kings and Chronicles, do sufficiently testify. Nor did this nation from the day of our Saviour's death enjoy one quiet or secure day; not one hour, wherein there either was not apparent danger, or some secret breeding of new calamities; nor shall they enjoy any, till it please Him whom they crucified to restore them again to the land of their inheritance, from which they are scattered; or at least to their spiritual state, from which they are fallen.

6. That the forementioned lamentation or threne did in the literal and historical sense refer unto the untimely death of good Josiah; that the calamities which ensued upon his death did typically portend just matter of greater sorrow for the death of the Lord's Anointed, κατ' ἐξοχήν, the Messias; that one place of the prophet Zechariah (to omit others) persuades me—*They shall mourn for him, as one who mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness*

for him, as one that is in bitterness for his firstborn. In that day shall there be a great mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon, Zech. xii. 10, 11, &c.: for in the valley of Megiddon Josiah was slain, as it is recorded, 2 Chron. xxxv. 24, 25: *And all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah. And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah: and all the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day, and made them an ordinance in Israel: and, behold, they are written in the lamentations.* This disaster, occasioned by his own oversight, or forwardness to fight with Necho, befell Josiah, after he had wrought that remarkable
878 reformation in the house of the Lord, and after he had celebrated the passover with such solemnity as had not been seen before in Jerusalem nor after. It was the eminency of Josiah's zeal and fidelity in setting forth that solemnity and other services of God, which occasioned this people, even the prophets, first to conceive that they should prosper under his shadow; and, after these hopes had failed, to lament his death in such passionate expressions as the faithful amongst his people, even our Saviour's disciples, did his death: *But we trusted that it had been he who should have redeemed Israel,* Luke xxiv. 21. The extremity of sorrow upon our Saviour's death, foreshadowed by the lamentations for Josiah's loss, was fulfilled, *pro illa vice,* in that compunction of heart and spirit in St. Peter's auditors, Acts ii. 37: *Now when they heard this, they were pricked in their heart, and said unto Peter and to the rest of the apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do?* But the full accomplishment of those mournful lamentations for our Saviour's death, whether foreshadowed or foretold or inchoated, whether in the Old Testament or in the

New, is not to be expected before the conversion of the Jews, which will not be public or national, until they seriously and publicly repent them of their own sins, and of the sins of their forefathers, for putting the Lord of life and King of glory to a bitter and shameful death. Nor is the nation of the Jews only, but all the kindreds of the earth, to bewail him and repent; for all were causes of his death: *Behold, he cometh* (saith St. John) *with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him.* Rev. i. 7.

7. A fitter subject for meditations to make either a private Christian truly wise, or wise men (especially governors, whether ecclesiastical or civil) truly Christian, I could not commend unto the one or other, (though bound so to do upon my death-bed,) than the sacred history concerning the estate of Judah from the death of good Josiah to the end of the Babylonish captivity, and the history of Josephus and others, who have deciphered the estate of the Jews since they put the Lord of life to death. This parallel between Jerusalem's two progresses to her first and second destruction was the main theme of my first ministerial meditations, the contents whereof would be too laborious to collect, and their expressions too long to be interserted in this treatise. To return therefore to the former path, from which I have somewhat though not impertinently digressed.

8. Of that glory of Christ which shall be revealed when every eye shall see him, when they that crucified and pierced his body shall mourn after such a manner as Zechariah and St. John in the places forecited import, he himself, in the hours of his greatest humiliation, (immediately after his agony in the garden, and,

as I take it, before Judas did deliver him up to the high priest and officers,) did exhibit some rays or glimpses, by striking the armed band, which came to attach him, backwards down to the ground, with the sole words or breath of his mouth. And again, by the deliverance of his followers from such rage and tyranny as they practised against him, that the words of the prophets, (not their projects,) and his exposition of their meaning, might be fulfilled, *I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.* This prophecy we have, Zech. xiii. 7. The accomplishment
879 of this prophecy was in part exemplified by the scattering of his apostles and disciples upon his apprehension and death. And so were the words immediately following in the prophet punctually verified, and really exemplified, in recollecting them again after his resurrection, and the feast of pentecost next ensuing. The full accomplishment of the prophecy, as it concerns the scattering of the flock or sheep, was not publicly declared or exemplified before the destruction of the second temple, and dispersing of the Jewish nation. The other parts of the same prophecy must be afterwards accomplished in the conversion of the Jews.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Predictions or Prefigurations of our Saviour's Sufferings after his Apprehension in the high Priest's Hall, &c.

1. ALL these rays or glimpses of the Sun of righteousness did interpose themselves in the days of his humiliation and obscurity, before he was led bound to Caiaphas the high priest. But after Judas, of a close Ahithophel or cunning traitor, became an open Delilah, and had betrayed his Master into their hands with a kiss, this Samson the Sun of righteousness became

like another man, or like the moon in eclipse. More weak and impotent, for any attempt of resistance or escape, than Samson was after the razor had gone over his head, and taken off the ensign of the Nazarite. These enemies of the God of Israel did sport themselves more cruelly with the bodily miseries and calamities of the true Nazarite, than the Philistines had done themselves with Samson, until he resumed his former strength by dying. So then Samson, in his strength and weakness, or dejected estate, was a lively type of Jesus of Nazareth in both his estates and conditions of life whilst he lived here on earth. No type at all, not so much as a shadow of Christ's humility and patience in all his sufferings, but rather a foil by his impatience, to set a lustre upon the unparalleled meekness of this true Nazarite of God by an *antiperistasis*. Samson's last prayers unto the God of his strength were, that he would give him power at the hour of his death to be revenged on his enemies for the loss of his eyes. Jesus of Nazareth, the true Nazarite of God, when he came unto the cross on mount Calvary, the stage and theatre for his enemies' sport and triumph over him in this solemn feast, prays heartily even for those that hoodwinked him, and *bid him prophesy, saying, Who was it that smote thee?* and for the Roman soldiers, which were the executioners of their malicious merriment: he prays for both in such a sweet and heavenly manner, as no prophet had ever done for his persecutors—*Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.* He did not so much as either lift up hand or voice, or conceive any secret prayer against one or other of his persecutors, during the time of his lingering but deadly pains; as knowing this was the time wherein his body was to be made as an anvil, that he might do the will

of his Father by the sacrifice of himself, and sufferance of all other indignities more bitter to a mere man than twenty deaths, though of the cross. The effect or purpose of God's will in this sacrifice (as our apostle
880 instructs us) was our sanctification. But the will of God, which he was now to do, was his will passively taken, to wit, for the body of CHRIST offered up once for all, as our apostle interprets the meaning of the author, or rather of the Holy Ghost, who did inspire the author of psalm xl. with the spirit of prophecy.

2. As in perusing many other psalms, so in this, I cannot but bewail the negligence of most interpreters, as well ancient as modern, for not inquiring more accurately after the author, but especially the historical occasions of composing it. I had many years ago sundry probable notions or conjectures that this psalm, though inscribed *a psalm of David*, or *revealed to David*[a], (for this inscription will well bear both senses,) as some other psalms which have the same inscription, were (if we may believe good authors) penned or paraphrased upon by Jeremiah, for the people's use in the Babylonish captivity. But these conjectures, and the perusal of such notes as I had then gathered concerning the author of this psalm, I now wave, or rather altogether omit. But whether the author of this psalm (suppose David) did act his own part, as having some special commission from the Lord to instruct the people, that to do God's will in some peculiar service then required, was better than sacrifice, much better than burnt offering; or whether he spake this divine vision or rapture in the person of the Messias alone; this, however, is most certain, that the 6th, 7th, and 8th verses of that xlth psalm do contain a concludent prophecy of the abolition of legal

[a] Vide Genebrardum in psalm. iii.

sacrifices by the sacrifice of Christ's body. The argument or demonstration is most divinely gathered and irrefragably pressed home to this purpose by our apostle, Heb. x. 4—10: *It is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins. Wherefore when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me: in burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast had no pleasure. Then said I, Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God. Above when he said, Sacrifice and offering and burnt offerings and offering for sin thou wouldest not, neither hadst pleasure therein; which are offered by the law; then said he, Lo, I come to do thy will, O God. He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second. By the which will we are sanctified through the offering of the body of* JESUS CHRIST *once for all.*

3. The only difficulty about the reconciliation of the psalmist in the original, and the translation of the LXX, which the apostle follows, Heb. x, and his approbation of it, makes it to me in this particular altogether as authentic as the Hebrew, or a better expression of it than modern interpreters without him could make. The resolution of this difficulty will much depend upon the literal meaning or importance of the Hebrew phrase אָזְנַיִם כָּרִיתָ. Some Latin interpreters render it thus, *Aures perfodisti mihi;* others, *Aures perforasti mihi;* others, *Aures aperuisti mihi:* "Thou hast digged through, bored, or opened my ears." And some of these conceit an allusion in the literal sense, to the legal custom of boring the ears of such as were content to continue perpetual servants to their present masters, and not use the privilege of the year of jubilee. But this conjecture

is rejected by many modern writers, and in particular, to my remembrance, by Pineda. '*Aures perfodere*' (saith the Tigurine note upon this place) *symbolica*
881 *oratione est in servitutem mancipare*, " as much as to make one a perpetual servant." This interpretation, I take, supposeth the former allusion to such as were made perpetual servants by boring their ears. But our Saviour, although for a time he took the form of a servant upon him, and was qualified for the performance of the hardest part of this service by opening the ear, yet was he not made, nor did he become a perpetual servant, but shortly after to be made both Lord and CHRIST.

4. Ribera (who doubtless had read very many and with great judgment) saith, Of all the interpreters which he had perused, Genebrard comes nearest to the meaning of the Holy Ghost. To exhibit Genebrard's interpretation in his own words:

Aures mihi aperuisti, *id est*, corpus, *per synecdochen, e Paulo Heb.* x. *Mihi aptasti corpus humanum in utero virgineo. Rabbini non satis percepta metaphora*, Aures fodisti *sive* aperuisti mihi: *ad tuæ obtemperandum voluntati aurem revelasti, retexisti, ab aure abstulisti velum et tegmen, ut acutius audiret. Effecisti ut te audirem, ac tuæ voluntati libens parerem. Me docilem et obsequentem ad audiendum reddidisti. Chald.* Aures ad auscultanda præcepta tua formasti mihi. *Nostris congruenter. Quia enim agitur de corporatione sive incarnatione Domini, est metaphora simul, et synecdoche: ad quorum temporum difficultatem explanandam apostolus appositissime posuit*, Corpus aptasti mihi. *Est enim primum metaphora a figulis, qui manu fodicant, et ducunt argillam, e qua cupiunt vas aptare currente rota, Quare Deus et figulus, et fictor, et plastes*

nuncupatur, ut alludatur ad Genesis ii, *quando ex humo humanum corpus duxit. Est deinde synecdoche, pars pro toto, aures pro corpore. Sed aurium præsertim meminit, quia de obedientia agebatur.*

The sum of his exposition is, that the psalmist's meaning is most elegantly expressed by the apostle, if we admit of a synecdoche in the psalmist, and a metaphor both in the psalmist and evangelist. The metaphor, *Aures perfodisti*, is borrowed from the potter, who first works or kneads the clay, or earth, whereof he makes his vessel, as if *perfodere* were as much as *fodicare*. And so God, who is styled *the former* or *fashioner of all things*, did work or frame the body of Christ in his mother's womb, as he had done the first man's body of red earth or clay. The synecdoche consists in this, that he mentioneth the ear for the whole body; for though the whole body were so formed by GOD, yet the psalmist maketh mention only of the ear, because he treateth there of obedience.

5. What further improvement of Genebrard's expression either Ribera or others of that church whereof they were members have made, I leave it to the diligent reader's further inquiry. Genebrard's expression in his own words is somewhat fuller than that which Junius hath in his parallel between the apostle and this psalmist, but neither any whit dissonant from the other. If either of them, or Ribera, had diligently read some writers of reformed churches (their ancients in time) upon Hebrews x, any one of them might have spoken more fully and punctually to the question than all of them do. For if we take it as granted which the Tigurine note upon the forecited fortieth psalm imports, to wit, that *to open the ear* is a speech symbolical, the symbolical sense of it is best expressed by the prophet Isaiah, in that portion of 882

scripture which was appointed by the ancient catholic church, and retained by our orthodoxal English, for the epistle on Tuesday in *hebdomade sancta*, or week before Easter. The exegetical exposition of the Hebrew, *to open the ears*, made by the prophet, implies a qualification, or rather consecration, of the whole body, for suffering all manner of grievances that could be inflicted upon it; and that this qualification was to be wrought by the ear, as it is the sense of discipline, whether active or passive, whether of understanding, or of patience in suffering. Nor are the seventy interpreters in this point to be blamed (especially the translation being so well approved by our apostle, Hebrews x.) for their variation in words from the Hebrew, but rather to be admired for their divine expression of the intent and meaning of the Holy Ghost, as well in the fortieth psalm as in the tenth to the Hebrews. The psalmist doubtless did foretell, and the prophet Isaiah did perhaps both foretell and forepicture the indignities done unto our Saviour's body in the high priest's hall by the Jews, and in the common hall or sessions house by the Roman soldiers, and upon the cross by both. This prophet more particularly foretold his undaunted patience and resolution in suffering whatsoever they did or could inflict upon him. To parallel the prophet with the evangelists, the prophet's words are these: *The Lord God hath opened mine ears*, (*aperuit aures*, not *aures perfodit*, or *perforavit*,) *and I was not rebellious, neither turned away back. I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair: I hid not my face from shame and spitting. For the Lord God will help me; therefore shall I not be confounded: therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed. He is*

near that justifieth me; who will contend with me? let us stand together: who is mine adversary? let him come near to me. Behold, the Lord God will help me; who is he that shall condemn me? lo, they all shall wax old as a garment; the moth shall eat them up. Isaiah l. 5, 6, &c. This resolution or undaunted patience (which is the effect or consequence of *opening the ear*) doth fully import *corpus aptatum*, not an human body, only framed or fashioned in the womb, as Christ's was, but a body qualified or fitted by the discipline of the ear for all manner of sufferings, as the body of a servant, to do his master's will, though by suffering the most cruel death or torture that could be inflicted upon him. And such was the body of Christ, wherein he executed that part of his Father's will by which we are sanctified once for all. But the circumstances precedent and subsequent to the prophetical passages will occasion the attentive reader to dispute with himself, at least to move the like question to that which the eunuch proposed to Philip, as whether he spoke all this only in the person of Christ, or respectively both of Christ and of himself? That the prophet, when he composed that divine passage, had an explicit prevision of the indignities which should be done unto his Lord, and of his admirable resolution to suffer them with inimitable patience, there is no question but (as hath been oftentime observed before) the spirit of the most evangelical prophets (of which rank Isaiah was a special one) were usually elevated unto raptures or previsions of our Saviour's sufferings by their own like sufferings. They had not only a clear foresight, but a true feeling of them (though in a far less measure and lower degree than Christ himself had): *Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears,* (saith

883 St. Stephen,) *ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye. Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? and they have slain them which shewed before of the coming of the Just One; of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers.* Acts vii. 51, 52. If these latter Jews did to our Saviour CHRIST as their fathers had done to the prophets his forerunners, then the prophets did suffer the like indignities of the former generation as Christ did of the latter. They were not only forerunners or foretellers of him, but types or shadows of him in all his sufferings. No prophet was more cruelly dealt with than the prophet Isaiah: none did partake more deeply of the royal Son of David's affliction, than this prophetical son of David: for Isaiah was of the royal blood, a near kinsman to wicked Manasses, who caused him to be sawed to death, if we may believe ecclesiastical stories.

6. Isaiah, in the beginning of this fiftieth chapter, brings in the Lord thus debating with the unbelieving rebellious people of his time: *Where is the bill of your mother's divorcement, whom I have put away? or which of my creditors is it to whom I have sold you? Behold, for your iniquities have ye sold yourselves, and for your transgressions is your mother put away. Wherefore, when I came, was there no man? when I called, was there none to answer? is my hand shortened at all, that it cannot redeem? or have I no power to deliver? behold, at my rebuke I dry up the sea, I make the rivers a wilderness: their fish stinketh, because there is no water, and dieth for thirst. I clothe the heavens with blackness, and I make sackcloth their covering.* vv. 1. 2, 3, &c. But in ver. 4. he altereth the person, if not of the speaker, yet of him to whom he speaks: *The Lord*

God hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary: he wakeneth morning by morning, he wakeneth mine ear to hear as the learned. This was the prophet's own comfort in particular, and in this qualification he was a type or shadow of that אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה who had thus qualified him. And so no doubt he was in that resolution which he took upon him from *the opening of the ear*, ver. 4, before cited. In both places it is remarkable that he doth not instyle the God of his strength and comfort by the name of אֱלֹהִים, or by the name of four letters only, but thus, אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה: *The Lord God hath given me the tongue of the learned: the Lord God hath opened mine ear.* And this, as was observed before, was the peculiar title of God, the second Person in the Trinity, or God to be incarnate: unto whom the prophets, his forerunners, in all their anguishes and distresses, did under this peculiar title direct their prayers, as then seeing that this Lord God was to bear their sorrows, and to be partaker of all their infirmities, that he might be a faithful comforter, and such an high priest as our apostle describes, Heb. ii. They intreated him by the foresight of his future sufferings, as the faithful now do beseech him to be compassionate towards them by the memory or experience of his afflictions past. There is no incongruity then to say, that this prophecy of Isaiah was literally and respectively meant of himself as of the type, but really fulfilled of אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה, whom he praiseth, not only in the mystical, but also according to the most exquisite literal sense. For however this Lord God had opened his ear, yet the resolution which he professed was greater than he had occasion to put in practice, at least with such undaunted patience as 884

our Saviour did. Yet do we never read that our Saviour in the days of his humiliation, or hour of his agony, did direct his prayers unto God under the title of אֲדֹנָי יְהוִֹה[b], his *Lord and God*, but unto God as his *Father*. And this is to me a pregnant argument, that not only the forecited place of Isaiah, but many other hymns or psalms, especially in or after David's time, were literally meant of the prophets which composed them, especially in respect of this circumstance of the person or party to whom they prayed, seeing our Saviour in his prayers to God did never use the same title they did. The prophet David himself had many and just occasions in his own person to conceive that excellent prayer, *Bow down thine ear, O Lord, and hear me: for I am poor and needy*, &c. psalm lxxxvi; yet were the occasions and matter of this psalm really accomplished in the Son of David, whom David here, as in psalm cx, twice instyleth his Lord and God; as ver. 12: *I will praise thee, O Lord my God, with all my heart: and I will glorify thy name for evermore.* And ver. 15: *And thou, O Lord, art a God full of pity and compassion, and gracious, longsuffering, and plenteous in mercy and truth.* Moses had said the same in effect long before: only he doth not give the title of *Lord*, nor intimate such a clear distinction of the persons in the Trinity, as David in this psalm cx. did. For David (as was observed before) had a clear prevision, that albeit the Messias or promised seed was to be his Son, yet was withal to be the Son of God: therefore to be that אֲדֹנָי יְהוִֹה, unto whom he and other holy men did continually pray in their calamities, and so much magnify, either for their comfort, or strength to endure their grievances.

7. But to return to the forecited place of the

[b] See chap. 15. par. 3. and 4.

prophet Isaiah, the words immediately following the forecited place, ver. 8, *He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me?* &c. *Behold, the Lord God will help me; who is he that shall condemn me?* were literally and respectively meant, not only of Christ's forerunners but of his followers: and are so applied by our apostle, Rom. viii. 30, 31: *If God be for us, who can be against us?* And again, vv. 33, 34: *Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather that is at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us.* The apostle in this had the same confidence in Christ the Lord, and in his sufferings, which the prophet Isaiah had in the Lord his God, to whom he directs his prayers. And so may all others have that faithfully believe in him; that is, all such to whom their own consciences can testify such a true conformity unto Christ in his sufferings, as our apostle Paul and the prophets were conscious of in their souls and spirit. And any other mark of election besides this I know none; nor will it be easy for the reader, whosoever he be, to find any other in the day of trial or temptation.

8. The evangelical parallel to the prophet Isaiah's prediction we have in part Luke xxii. 63, 64: *And the men that held Jesus mocked him, and smote him. And when they had blindfolded him, they struck him on the face, and asked him, saying, Prophesy, who is it that smote thee?* Thus they dealt with him in the high priest's hall, before his examination or sentence given against him. And so again they used him at his examination, John xviii. 19, &c.: *The high priest asked Jesus of his disciples, and of his doctrine. Jesus answered, I spake openly to the world,* &c. 885

Why askest thou me? ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I said. And when he had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by struck Jesus with the palm of his hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so? Unto this indignity he replies with such meekness and patience as no prophet in like case ever used; only thus: *If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me?* To the like indignities done unto him by the Roman soldiers and by Herod, he maketh no reply at all. So that however the forecited words of the prophet Isaiah, and of the psalmist, psalm xl. and lxxxvi, might be respectively verified of themselves, yet were they never exactly fulfilled, save only of that אֲדֹנָי, that *Lord* to whom they direct their prayers. None of them ever had a body so fitted, or their ears so opened by the Lord God, as this Lord God himself had, a temper of body and mind not moveable to any passion, either by indignity of speeches which he heard, or by the blows which he suffered.

CHAP. XXV.

The unjust Proceedings of the high Priest and Elders against the Son of God were punctually foretold by the Prophets.

1. BUT was it any where else foretold besides in those passages of the prophet Isaiah, and the psalms forecited, that the Lord of glory, or God the Redeemer of Israel, should suffer all those indignities, should be despitefully arraigned, unjustly examined and sentenced to death by his native subjects and by the Gentiles? If thus much had not been both foretold and foreshadowed both by Moses and other prophets, our Saviour would not have censured those two dis-

ciples whom he did vouchsafe to accompany to Emmaus, saying, *We trusted that it had been he who should have redeemed Israel.* His tax of this their present distrust or dull belief is more sharp than any reply or answer which he made unto such malicious infidels as from the time of his apprehension did deride, beat, scourge, and crucify him, for avouching he was the God of Israel, or King of the Jews. For unto these two disciples he said, *O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken: ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself.* Luke xxiv. 25—27. I can no way dislike, but rather approve of Maldonate's and other learned commentators' wishes upon this place, that, if so it had pleased the Lord, the evangelist had related unto us either the places which he expounded to them or his expositions upon them. But (as I have heretofore advertised the reader, and shall take occasion hereafter to put him in mind) it seemed not expedient to the wisdom of God, to have the full exposition, either of our Saviour or the apostles themselves, upon those scriptures which they allege, extant upon undoubted record, but rather to exhibit us certain hints or just matter of sober and serious search of the scriptures which they allege. Amongst other sacred passages which our Saviour expounded to those two disciples, I make no question but the lxxxiind 886
psalm was one. To omit all inquiry who was the author of the psalm, whether Asaph (whose inscription it bears) or David himself; or what special occasions the author of it, whosoever he was, had to compose it, whether his own experience in suffering wrong, or some observation of gross partiality or

corruption in the course of justice towards others: the psalm itself is prophetical, and was never so punctually verified at any time before or since, as it was at our Saviour's examination by the high priest and elders, and at his arraignment before Pontius Pilate; yet the full accomplishment of the last clause will not be until the final day of judgment: *God standeth in the congregation of the mighty* (saith the psalmist); *he judgeth among the gods. How long will ye judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked? Defend the poor and fatherless: do justice to the afflicted and needy. Deliver the poor and needy: rid them out of the hands of the wicked.* Psalm lxxxii. 1—4. Here was a fair caveat put into the courts of justice by the psalmist, not to pass sentence upon the Messias for saying he was the Son of God, or for making himself equal with God; not to accept of the person of Barabbas before him who now as GOD did stand amongst them. But besides this caveat of the psalmist, the circumstances of time, and the manner of their own proceedings against him, did warn them, as Pilate's wife did him, to beware how they had any thing to do with that just and holy man. And our Saviour himself vouchsafeth to be the remembrancer, that however he now stood to be judged by them, yet he was that very God which the psalmist foretold should be their Judge, and the Judge of the whole world: for so the psalmist concludeth: *Arise, O God, and judge the earth: for thou shalt inherit all nations,* ver. 8. This universal inheritance, and power to judge the earth, was bestowed upon our Saviour at his resurrection, after they had judged him for saying he was the Son of God.

2. After they had sought many false witnesses against him, but could find none whose testimonies

did agree, or if they agreed, did reach home to convince him of any capital crime: they sought to entrap him by his own confession, which being judicially made and taken, they knew to be a full and legal conviction: *The high priest*, failing in his intended subornations against him, *said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God*, Matt. xxvi. 62, 63. And unto this interrogatory, ministered unto him by the high priest *ex officio*, not in a criminal cause, but in a point of belief or doctrine, he vouchsafeth a full and punctual answer as to his competent judge, *quoad hæc;* such an answer as he did not vouchsafe either to Herod when he was brought before him, nor to the high priest and elders when they examined him before the two false witnesses, which at the last cast were brought against him: these circumstances we have related in the forecited place of St. Matthew: *At the last came two false witnesses, and said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days. The high priest said unto him, Answerest thou nothing? what is it which these witness against thee? But Jesus held his peace*, Matt. xxvi. 60, &c. And St. Luke tells us, chap. xxiii. 9: *When Herod questioned him in many things, he answered him nothing. But as soon as the high priest adjured him by the living God to tell him the truth, whether he was the Christ, the Son of the living God; Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said: nevertheless I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of* 887
power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Then the high priest rent his clothes, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy; what further need have we of witnesses? behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy. What

think ye? They answered and said, He is guilty of death. Matt. xxvi. 63—66. All these circumstances are related by St. Luke, but not in the same order which St. Matthew doth, for (as hath been heretofore observed) albeit we are bound to believe that every evangelist wrote nothing but divine truth, yet every one of them did not record the whole truth, with all its circumstances, nor relate either our Saviour's answers, or his enemies' practices against him, in the same order of time in which they were made or exhibited. St. Matthew refers, or rather intermingles, the fulfilling of Isaiah's prophecy for spitting in his face, for buffeting him, and smiting him with the palms of their hands, with the relation of his answer to the high priest, and his associates' censure against him: *Then did they spit in his face,* &c. Matt. xxvi. 67, 68. St. Luke tells us, that *they which held him overnight, when Peter denied him, did mock him and smite him,* &c. chap. xxii. 63, &c. And again, that the high priest put the forementioned interrogatory to him in the morning, after Peter had denied him. And ver. 66. this is most probable, that the high priest and his complices, being hypocrites, would at least be careful to observe the outward or visible form of justice, which was, not to examine men or produce witnesses against them after midnight, or in the evening. For this was one of the gross abuses practised by their idolatrous forefathers; the full measure of whose grosser sins this last generation did make up by a precise and rigid reformation of them. The consciousness of their curiosity and care to eschew their forefathers' open sins, was the principal root of their pharisaical hypocrisy.

3. But we need not to rely upon probabilities concerning the time wherein they examined our Saviour;

for that is plainly and assertively set down by St. Luke, xxii. 66, 67, &c.: *And as soon as it was day, the elders of the people and the chief priests and the scribes came together, and led him into their council, saying, Art thou the Christ? tell us. And he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe: and if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go.* St. Luke, although he most exactly observes the order of the process and circumstance of time, omits the adjuration of the high priest, and the production of the false witnesses against him. But to recompense this omission he interserts one reply of our Saviour to the adjuring interrogatory which St. Matthew expresseth not, but unto which his other expressions must have special reference, if we will make true grammatical construction of them: for upon this interrogatory, *Art thou the Christ? tell us*, as St. Luke hath it, *he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe: and if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go.* And here St. Matthew's elliptical expression of the answer following doth somewhat raise or quicken St. Luke's more full expression: St. Luke saith, *Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God*[a]; St. Matthew relating the same answer, saith, *Nevertheless I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting*[b], &c. This adversative particle, *nevertheless*, refers to that of St. Luke which St. Matthew omits, *If I tell you, ye will not believe me*, &c. Though there be some variation in the words, yet they agree as well as a sharp and a flat in music; whatsoever is omitted by either, is but as a rest in song. The full tone or harmony 888
betwixt them amounts to this: "However, ye will not believe what I say, nor deal ingenuously with

[a] Luke xxii. 69. [b] Matt. xxvi. 64.

me; yet at your peril be it: for I must tell you the truth, which you know in part, but will not know, but which hereafter ye shall more than believe: *for ye shall see the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God*, &c." This they knew well to be a seat only for the Son of God, and therefore, whereas before they had only interrogated whether he was the Christ, they put the second interrogatory to him, as St. Luke relateth them plainly and distinctly, though St. Matthew put them both into one: *I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God.* Matt. xxvi. 63. *Then said they all, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am.* Luke xxii. 70. And upon this confession they proceed against him. Now this answer or confession implies these two fundamental points of belief: the first, that this JESUS of Nazareth whom they now convented was the Christ; the second, that although he was the Son of man, yet being the CHRIST, he was likewise the Son of God, not by adoption, but by nature or primogeniture. For unless this had been the meaning of their interrogatory and of his answer, they could not have condemned him of blasphemy for avouching himself to be the Messias; that is, the Son of God in such a sense as Abraham, or David, or Adam in his integrity had been, or any of the pure angelical substances are. They took it as granted, nor did he deny it, that he made himself such a Son of God as was equal with God. And this to their apprehension was blasphemy, a capital crime, and so they censure it. So then here was *God standing in the congregation of the mighty.* These earthly gods did judge him, and he again judgeth them: at least he declareth himself to be that Judge which was to judge them and the

Gentiles too. But as the psalmist in this forecited psalm had foreprophesied, *They know not, nether will they understand; they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth are out of course.* They indeed were *gods; and all of them children of the most high; yet all to die like men, and fall* as former great ones had done. But not the sons of God after such a manner as he was, who albeit he was to die like man, yet not to fall like one of the princes, but to rise again by power of the Godhead to judge the earth.

CHAP. XXVI.

The false Accusations made by the Priests and Elders against the Son of God when they brought him before Pilate, foretold by our Saviour himself, and by the Prophets.

1. As the Son of man and the Son of God was willing to bear our sorrows, and take all our infirmities upon him, to the end he might be a faithful comforter of all such as mourn, so it was his pleasure likewise to suffer this most gross and detestable civil wrong from the earthly powers of justice, that he might be most exquisitely qualified, even according to his human nature, to do right unto such as suffer like wrong; and justice upon all unjust judges, espe- 889
cially upon such as persecute others as he was persecuted, for bearing testimony unto the truth or fundamental mysteries of our salvation. But however these earthly gods, or rulers of the Jews, did sentence him to death for blasphemy, yet were they not by Divine Providence permitted to put this sentence in execution according to that manner of punishment which God's law did award to blasphemers: for by the award of that law he should have been stoned to death. But,

as St. John instructs us in this remarkable point of God's special providence, when Pilate, willing to free himself from guilt of innocent blood, *bid them take him, and judge him according to their law, they replied, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death,* chap. xviii. 31. How true or pertinent this answer was, I will not here dispute. But thus they answered, as the same evangelist there tells us, *that the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled, signifying what death he should die,* and by whom. This saying or prophecy of our Saviour to which St. John refers is punctually set down by St. Matthew xx. 17—19: *Jesus going up to Jerusalem took the twelve disciples apart in the way, and said unto them, Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be betrayed unto the chief priests and unto the scribes, and they shall condemn him to death, and shall deliver him to the Gentiles to mock, and to scourge, and to crucify him.* Unto this death of the cross they brought him by their importunate and subtle solicitations of Pilate to proceed against him upon another capital crime than they by their pretended law had condemned him for: for they pronounced him as worthy and guilty of death (by their law) for blasphemy, whereas now before Pilate they frame a new accusation against him, for rebellion against Cæsar, because he professed himself to be King of the Jews, as in truth he was, for royal pity and compassion towards them; but without any purpose to move the people to take arms, or to exercise any royal authority over them, or any others upon earth, because his kingdom was not of this world.

2. Whilst the high priest and elders sat as judges in their own council-house, they suborned false witnesses against him; but whilst they accuse him before

Pilate, they themselves become the most malicious and falsest witnesses that ever were produced or offered themselves voluntarily to testify in open court against any living man, in a cause criminal or capital. All these malicious practices against him were clearly foretold by the psalmist his forerunner in the like sufferings, and in particular (I take it) by David himself, psalm xxxv: *False witnesses did rise up; they laid to my charge things that I knew not. They rewarded me evil for good to the spoiling of my soul. But as for me, when they were sick, my clothing was sackcloth: I humbled my soul with fasting; and my prayer returned into mine own bosom. I behaved myself as though he had been my friend or brother: I bowed down heavily, as one that mourneth for his mother. But in mine adversity they rejoiced,* &c. vv. 11—13, &c. Thus did the composers of this psalm and of some others to the like effect complain: every man respectively in their own persons, and upon just occasions. And however they did not in their murmuring complaints, yet in the causes or occasions of the sufferings, they did really prefigure juster occasions and more grievous matter of complaint on the behalf of their expected Redeemer. And he must have uttered the like complaints in a far higher strain, if he had been but a mere man, not armed with patience or longsuffering truly divine. The indignities done 890
unto him by Pilate and the Roman soldiers, by Herod and his men of war, were perspicuously foretold by David, psalm ii: *Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?* This parallel between the prophecy of David, and the historical events answering to it, not the apostles only, but other inferior disciples did unanimously acknowledge upon the deliverance of Peter and John and the rest of the apostles

from such violence intended against them by the rulers and elders of the Jews, (as had been practised by them upon our Saviour,) for working of a miracle in his name: *When they had further threatened them, they let them go, finding nothing how they might punish them, because of the people: for all men glorified God for that which was done. For the man was above forty years old, on whom this miracle of healing was shewed. And being let go, they went to their own company, and reported all that the chief priests and elders had said unto them. And when they heard that, they lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is: who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against his Christ. For of a truth against thy holy child* JESUS, *whom thou hast anointed, both Herod, and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done.* Acts iv. 21, 22, &c.

3. All of our Saviour's persecutors, whether Jews or Gentiles, *per dicta et facta male ominata*, did read their own doom and the doom of all such, unto the world's end, as shall continue the course that they begun. The Roman soldiers clothing him in a purple robe, by putting a crown of thorns upon his head, and by crying, *All hail! unto the King of the Jews*, did act that part in jest or comical merriment which they must one day act in earnest and more than tragical sorrow. For he had sworn it long before, *that all knees should bow unto him*, and in that day they which

crowned him with thorns shall see him crowned with majesty and glory. Herod, in sending him back to Pilate in a white or candid robe, did bear witness of his innocency and integrity; and withal, of Herod his father's scarlet sins, in putting so many poor innocents to a bloody death upon the notice of his nativity. And as for Pilate and the Roman state, by whose authority he was scourged with rods here on earth, He whose seat is in the heavens did even then laugh them to scorn, and since hath broken the whole race of Roman Cæsars with a rod of iron, and dashed them and their monarchy to pieces like a potter's vessel. What more shall be done against these cruel actors or abetters of their cruel practices against this King of kings, I leave it wholly (with all submission) to his sole determination. But that the indignities done unto him by the Jews, by the Roman or other heathen governors, and the visible revenge which hath since befallen them, were punctually foretold by David, psalm ii, the testimony before cited, Acts iv, is a proof most authentic and most concludent.

4. Yet of all the sufferings which he suffered under Pontius Pilate, besides the indignities done unto him in the extremities of his pains upon the cross, (at which Pilate was not present,) the rejection of him by the Jews, when this heathen governor, out of a good nature or well-meaning policy, had proposed him 891
with an infamous thief or murderer, was far the worst, and doth deserve the indignation of all that loved him. And this circumstance is pressed home to them by St. Peter, Acts iii. 13—15: *The God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of our fathers, hath glorified his Son* JESUS; *whom ye delivered up, and denied him in the presence of Pilate, when he was determined to let him go. But*

ye denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a murderer to be granted unto you; and killed the Prince of life, whom God hath raised from the dead, &c. In this preposterous and sacrilegious choice, they did the devil a more peculiar and more immediate service than their idolatrous forefathers had ever done, either in adoring the brazen serpent, (which was the most perverse idolatry that ever they committed,) or in sacrificing their sons and daughters to the infernal spirits. In those services they declare themselves to be servants to devils; in this sinister choice they prove themselves to be the devil's own sons, and exactly fulfil our Saviour's prophecy or discovery of their inclinations before they themselves did know them. For when Jesus had told such Jews as did in a sort believe on him, that *they were servants to sin, and could not be made free but by the Son, who abideth in the house for ever:* they cholericly reply, that *they were the sons of Abraham.* Our Saviour rejoins, *Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning.* John viii. 30, &c., and 44. And so they now desire Barabbas, one whose name imports *the son of their father*, and by quality the son of the devil, an infamous murderer, to be delivered unto them, in memory of their deliverance out of Egypt: and importunately solicit the murder of the Son of God—of that very God who had delivered them out of Egypt, who spake to Moses in mount Sinai—that Lord God, unto whom Joshua and all the judges that succeeded him were but generals in the time of war; unto whom in time of peace, or counsel for direction of public affairs, the best of the priests and prophets unto the days of Samuel were but deputies. For the Lord God of Israel all that time was

their immediate and proper King. Governors and deputies they had successively many, but none endued with royal authority besides him. No matter of consequence, whether of war or peace, was undertaken by their governors without special revelation or answer from him by Urim and Thummim until Samuel's old age: *Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel unto Ramah, and said unto him, Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations. But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, Give us a king to judge us. And Samuel prayed unto the Lord.* 1 Sam. viii. 4, 5, 6. This unseasonable ill-aboding desire did displease the Lord unto whom they prayed as much as it did Samuel. And yet so far is he from forcing obedience by irresistible coaction, that he persuades Samuel to descend to their importunate suit, but first to make protestation against it: *Now therefore hearken unto their voice: howbeit yet protest solemnly unto them, and shew them the manner of the king that shall reign over them*, ver. 9. This protestation against their petition, and his pathetical forewarning of them what hard usage they should find under the king whom they would choose, are set down at full from ver. 10. of this chapter, unto ver. 19; *nevertheless the people refused to obey the voice of Samuel; and they said, Nay; but we will have a king over us; that we* 892 *also may be like all the nations, and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles.* And so, after Samuel had rehearsed their resolution in the ears of the Lord, their present King, notwithstanding the protestation and their forewarning concerning their future king's manner of government, they are permitted, for the hardness of their hearts, to go to a

free election of a new king. Yet the calamities and oppressions which Samuel forewarns would follow upon this their not approved election, was scarce so much as verified in the days of Saul, of David, or Solomon; never exactly fulfilled by any king of their own nomination, or by any king imposed upon them, until they solemnly and openly disclaim their native King, (that very God whom Samuel in all this business had consulted,) and cried, *We have no king but Cæsar*. After this nomination of Cæsar for their king, whatsoever calamities foretold by Samuel were in any part verified by their own unruly kings, were most exactly accomplished by the race of Cæsars, unto whom they solemnly dedicated that allegiance which was due to Jesus their ancient Lord and King. At the same time, and not before, were the words of the Lord unto Samuel, chap. viii. 7, 8, exactly fulfilled: *The Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them. According to all the works which they have done since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt even unto this day, wherewith they have forsaken me, and served other gods, so do they also unto thee.* But of the fulfilling of this prophecy, both according to the literal sense and prefigurations, or matter of fact, and how the priests and scribes with their projects against our Saviour did bring Jacob's dying curse or ominous predictions against Simeon and Levi upon themselves and their posterity, more hath been said in the Commentaries of the first book of the Creed[a] than I now exactly remember, more at least than I will trouble the reader with a repetition of what he may find there published.

[a] Sect. 3. chap. 11. par. 9, 10, &c.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of such Repentance as Judas found: of his casting down the thirty Pieces of Silver in the Temple: and of the Difficulties or Variety of Opinions by which of the Prophets it was foretold.

1. ONE historical relation concerning Judas and his fearful end there is, which is by St. Matthew (who of all the four evangelists citeth the testimony of the prophecy wherein part of it was foretold) left somewhat ambiguous for the circumstances of time wherein it happened. Some perhaps would at the first sight conceive from St. Matthew's words, that Judas did cast down the hire of his treason in the temple immediately after the chief priests and elders had bound our Saviour and led him to Pontius Pilate the governor. But if we consider other circumstances of time related by St. John and St. Luke, it is far more probable that Judas was not touched with sorrow or grief, whether of mind or of body, or of both, until our Saviour was 893
sentenced to the death of the cross by Pontius Pilate. For the first thing which the chief priests and elders did, after they themselves had passed sentence on our Saviour, was the delivery of him to the secular power, and their importunate solicitation of Pilate to put their sentence in execution. It was a memorable document of deadly hypocrisy in the priests and elders, that they would not enter into the common hall, or public court of justice, to indict him there, being immediately after to celebrate the usual service for that day in the temple. It was again an extraordinary courtesy in Pilate towards them, that he would vouchsafe to take their accusations in the pavement, or court adjoining to the pretorium. But as well the courtesy of the one, as the hypocrisy of the other, friendly conspired to accom-

plish the will of God, which was to have his only Son made that day a sacrifice of atonement for the sins both of the Jews and Gentiles; whereas, if Pilate had stood upon points of authority or prerogative, it is more than probable the priests and elders would rather have deferred their accusations for that instant, than have entered into the pretorium or common hall. But having once obtained their desire in the pavement, they immediately returned into the temple, where Judas attended them. And having resolved (as he thought) to have set his house or worldly business in such order as Ahithophel had done his, he went forth and hanged himself. So that albeit Judas had seen his Master dead in law, that is, sentenced to death by the high priest and Pontius Pilate, upon the Jews' importunate accusations and testimonies against him, yet the traitor, having no witness produced against him besides his own conscience, no judge or appointed executioner besides himself, did die an accursed death, before his Master had made an atonement for the sins of the world. So the psalmist by way of imprecation had foretold: *Let sudden destruction come upon him unawares;* or, as the others, *Let destruction come upon him, and let the net that he hath made for others catch himself: into that very destruction let him fall.* Psalm xxxv. 8. How this imprecation, though not directed against Judas alone, did punctually fall upon him, will better appear anon in the discussions how the imprecations reiterated in the cixth psalm were most punctually fulfilled in him. That which for the present I intended to advertise the reader of, is briefly this; That if we refer the time of Judas's death unto this point of time intimated, the parallel betwixt St. Matthew's relation of his fearful end, and other sacred passages in the evan-

gelists and apostles, will be more clear. St. Matthew's relation ye have in chapter xxvii. 3—10: *Then Judas, which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood. And they said, What is that to us? see thou to that. And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself. And the chief priests took the silver pieces, and said, It is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood. And they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in. Wherefore that field was called, The field of blood, unto this day. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value; and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me.*

2. But where this casting down of the thirty pieces 894
of silver in the temple was foretold, or by whom, there is and hath been great variety of opinions amongst learned interpreters, as well ancient as modern; so great, that many of them have rather soiled than any way cleared the meaning of the evangelist; and left the investigation of the truth more difficult to the ingenuous and sagacious reader, than if they had not meddled with it, or left it (untouched) to his private search. The first difficulty is about the grammatical signification of some words in the original; the second pitcheth upon a misnomer of the prophet, as whether that prophecy which the evangelist said was fulfilled in this fact of Judas was uttered or written by Zechariah or the prophet Jeremiah, or respectively by both;

the third, admitting thus much was either only foretold, or both foretold and forepictured, either by Jeremiah or by Zechariah or by both, whether they spoke in their own persons, or in the person of Judas, or of Christ, or of both. The first difficulty, or rather discord about the literal sense of the prophet's words, as they are related by the evangelist, hath been occasioned, partly by the translation of the Septuagint, and partly by the author of the Vulgar Latin. For whereas we read, as well in St. Matthew as in the prophet Zechariah, *And I cast them*, ad figulum, *to the potter;* the Vulgar Latin hath it, *And I cast them,* ad statuarium, *to the statue-maker in the house of the Lord:* the Septuagint thus, Καθὲς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον, *Cast them into the furnace,* or *to the metal-melter:* the Greek might import (though not so directly as the Latin) *a potter's furnace.* But if we take *statuarius* (which is the expression of the Vulgar Latin) in its proper sense, for *a statue-maker*, whether in stone or of metal, wrought with tool or molten, there could be no use of such an artificer in that temple wherein all statues or images, of what stuff soever they could be made, were more strictly forbidden; or in that people, among whom the erecting or making of them was a crime capital. To avoid this absurdity in their authenticated translation, the sectaries of the Romish church, by the *Statuary* would have us understand *God himself,* who is the former or fashioner of all things. And for this interpretation they allege some ancient Greek fathers, but whose authority they themselves will slight, or pass such censures upon their authors, as they will not permit us in like case to do, whensoever they make against their pretended catholic tenets. The most learned interpreters in the Romish church do partly bewray, and sometimes openly pro-

fess, that this interpretation is too farfetched, and far wide from the meaning of the prophet, (whosoever he was,) as he is alleged by the evangelist. What then could move so many of them to embrace, or rather not to disclaim these roving collections? Only the authority of the Trent council, which hath so fettered them in this and other like points, that they dare not say that their reasonable souls are (under God) their own; but are content to sacrifice learning, reason, and common sense, to many illiterate resolutions of wilful, partial, and corrupt men in that council assembled. If the ingenuous reader will not believe me in this particular, let him take the pains to satisfy himself, by observing how Ribera and Castrus, with some other men very well learned and ingenuous, (so far as they durst,) have utterly lost themselves in their commentaries upon the eleventh of Zechariah.

3. Concerning the second difficulty, many, both in 895
the Romish and reformed churches, will in no case admit of a misnomer in the evangelist's writing, but will have the words cited by him to be the prophet Jeremiah's own words, though nowhere extant in his own works which now we have, yet in some other works of his, which no Christian living this day hath seen, but of which St. Hierom had seen an Hebrew copy, as he himself relates, but unto which it doth not appear that he gave any credit, it being imparted to him by one of the sect of the Nazarenes. The words of the pretended prophecy answer so punctually and identically to every apex or tittle of St. Matthew's quotation or paraphrase upon the prophet, as we may more than suspect, justly presume, that passage which St. Hierom relates, to have been squared on purpose to St. Matthew's allegation, after the publishing of this Gospel: for such supposititious or bastard books were

obtruded upon the church before St. Hierom's or Origen's days.

Amongst many interpretations upon this eleventh of Zechariah, which Junius in his parallels hath diligently recited, he approves only of one or two: the one that Zechariah was *binomius*, had two names, Jeremiah and Zechariah, a thing not unfrequent in sacred histories, especially where their names, whether they be two or more, have but one signification or importance. Now the etymology of Jeremiah and Zechariah, according to his interpretation of them, have the very same signification. The other, which after this Junius likes best, is, that Zechariah had the prophet Jeremiah for his master or instructor, though not *viva voce*, yet partaker of his spirit by tradition or undoubted relation of his prophetical predictions, from such as had been acquainted with Jeremiah during the time of Zedekiah's reign, or in the beginning of the Babylonish captivity. This good writer was afraid lest Jeremiah should have lived too long, if he had been acquainted with Zechariah upon his return from Babylon, or about the building of the second temple, as some others before Junius had avouched, whose opinion in the main point he likes well of, to wit, that albeit the testimony alleged by St. Matthew be distinctly found in the prophet Zechariah, yet is ascribed by the evangelist himself purposely to Jeremiah, because Zechariah had learned it from Jeremiah, as Daniel had done the end of the captivity.

4. For my part, if I could be fully persuaded (as I am not to the contrary) that the reason why St. Matthew did purposely ascribe these words in the prophet Zechariah unto Jeremiah, was because the prophet Zechariah had Jeremiah in this and many other pro-

phecies for his instructor or guide, I should think it no solecism to say, that Zechariah had been acquainted with Jeremiah himself, either about the beginning of the Babylonish captivity, or that Jeremiah had lived until this people's return to Jerusalem, and to the inheritance and possessions of their forefathers. For that divers of that generation wherein Jeremiah prophesied, and whilst the first temple was standing, did live so long, as Junius thinks it improbable Jeremiah should live, is clear from that of Ezra iii. 12: *Many of the priests and Levites and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first house, when the foundation of the house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice; and many shouted aloud for joy.* Howbeit, I am not of opinion that men in those days did, by strength of nature, make up so many years here on earth as this history 896
implies these many priests and Levites did, but rather that God, by his special providence and goodness, did at this time reiterate or renew that covenant of life which once he made to Phinehas and Eleazar. And Jeremiah, and Baruch the son of Neriah, had this special privilege bestowed upon them, that their lives should be given unto them for a prey, in all places whithersoever they went [b]. Again, it is very probable, seeing Jeremiah during the time of his imprisonment did, by the appointment of the Lord, *buy the field of Hananeel his uncle's son, and cause the evidences subscribed to be put up by Baruch in an earthen vessel, that they might continue many days:* that he expected to see the return of this people from captivity unto the possessions of their fathers: that he himself did hope to enjoy the benefit of this his bargain, which he made in a strange time, as worldlings would think.

[b] See Jer. xlv. 5. and xxxix. 18.

But so he made it for the confirmation of this people's faith in God's promises, that fields and possessions, which then lay desolate, should be repossessed by this people and their posterity, and inheritances should be sold and alienated to the next of kindred, (as this of Hananeel's was to Jeremiah,) according to the law.

5. Maldonate in his comments upon St. Matthew is very free, and not afraid, as Junius and other good writers are, to admit of a misnomer, neither occasioned by the evangelist's forgetfulness, nor from mistake of letters or abbreviatures by the transcribers, but rather by a voluntary intersertion of the prophet Jeremiah's name by some bold transcriber or interpreter, whenas the evangelist had only said, *the prophet,* (as his usual manner is,) without any intimation what prophet it was, leaving that wholly to the diligent reader's search or observation. For so he doth in that remarkable prophecy, *Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son,* &c.; he saith no more, than all this was foretold by the prophet, without any mention or intimation of Isaiah's name: nor doth he name the prophet Hosea, when he records the fulfilling of his prophecy, *Out of Egypt have I called my son,* Matt. ii. 15. And in verse 23. of the same chapter, *He shall be called a* NAZARENE. He giving the reason why Joseph, by the disposition of the Divine Providence, did divert his intended return unto Beth-lehem, where Christ was born, and took up his dwelling in Nazareth, saith this was done, *that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets,* not so much as intimating the name of any one prophet by whom this was foretold. And if the curious reader would observe his allegations of prophetical testimonies throughout his whole Gospel, he shall find the prophet's name (whose testimony he

most faithfully records) concealed or omitted three times as often as it is expressed. And in those few places wherein the prophet's name, whose authority he allegeth, is expressed, it may without any danger be questioned whether they were so expressed or interserted by interpreters or transcribers. For the addition of names, or change of some vowels, doth no way vitiate the divine truth of prophecy, though the custom of latter interpreters or translators be far more commendable to express the prophet's name, or the chapter and verse to which the evangelical story refers, in the margin, not in the body of the text. However the misnomers of persons or places inserted into the body of the discourse, doth no way corrupt the true sense and meaning, either of historical or prophetical truth: the error is imputable only to the transcriber or interpreter, not to the author.

6. But for this place now in question, I know it is 897
objected by good writers, (both as well of the reformed as Romish church,) that the most ancient copies of St. Matthew's Gospel now extant have the name of Jeremiah, not of Zechariah: and therefore it is a presumption at least that the name was not interserted by any interpreter or transcriber, but expressed by the first author himself. Yet this is a presumption only, no just proof, because there may be, for aught we know, more ancient copies of St. Matthew, than any man of later years hath seen or published to the world; as of later years some copies of the Septuagint and of St. John's Gospel have been communicated unto the Christian world, which are more ancient than those which in former ages were most common. Again, no man can make such proof that any Greek manuscript of St. Matthew now extant is more ancient than the Syriac Testament, in which the name

of the prophet Jeremiah is not to be found, although the substance of St. Matthew's text concerning the fulfilling of this prophecy be plain and full. Lastly, I think scarce any of the Romish church would affirm, that such manuscripts as they have seen are more ancient than their first Vulgar Latin translation of the books of Moses. And now, if it be no prejudice to the substance of truth in their most ancient translation to intersert names and places not so much as heard of in Moses's time, nor added by the seventy interpreters, or other expressions of the Hebrew names (used by Moses) by the Grecians, but new names imposed by the Grecians upon places otherwise called in more ancient times, it can no way disparage the true sense or meaning of St. Matthew, although very ancient interpreters or transcribers have interserted the name of Jeremiah instead of Zechariah into the body of his text. But where doth the most ancient Vulgar translator make any such intersertion of names into the body of Moses' writings? To omit other places, so he doth, Numbers xxxiv. 11, where we read, as the Hebrew *verbatim* hath it, *And the coast shall go down from Shepham to Riblah:* the ancient Vulgar Latin makes this intersertion, *De Sephama descendent termini in Reblata contra fontem Daphnen;* "The coast or border shall descend from Sephama to Riblah, over against the fountain called Daphne[c];" that is, to that Antioch where Christ's followers were first named Christians. It is not probable that the first author of the Vulgar Latin was more ancient than that Hebrew copy of those apocryphal books ascribed to Jeremiah by the sect of the Nazarenes. Now this testimony alleged by St. Matthew being extant in that apocryphal book before any Latin translation of the Bible,

[c] Vide Nebrisensis quinquagenam, cap. 14.

and more ancient than any Greek transcript of St. Matthew as yet publicly known, the interpreters, Greek or Latin, might with the same confidence intersert the prophet Jeremiah's name into the body of the text, as the Vulgar Latin doth the name of the fountain Daphne into the history of Moses. The most ancient and best authority which the author of the Vulgar Latin can pretend for this intersertion is from the author of the second book of Maccabees. I could not therefore condemn Maldonate for speaking inconsequently, either to the truth itself, or to the authority of the Romish church, wherein he lived, for his ingenuous, free opinion concerning this misnomer in the text of St. Matthew, which is a far grosser error in transcripts, or instruments of the law, than of the gospel.

7. But whether we admit of Maldonate's or Junius's opinion as the more probable, the third difficulty pro- 898
posed will not be dissolved by one or both; and that was, how the author of the prophecy, whose accomplishment St. Matthew records (were it Jeremiah, Zechariah, or some other) should sustain the person of Judas the traitor, and the person of our Saviour Christ, who was betrayed, of whom the forecited prophecy was to be literally fulfilled. That it was fulfilled by Judas's fact is granted by all: but how it was fulfilled of our Saviour, is a question which most interpreters leave undetermined. For the resolution or determination of it, there might be another question premised, to wit, whether he or they, whosoever they were, who did foretell Judas's casting down the thirty pieces of silver to the potter in the temple, did foresignify this by way of vision, or did withal forepicture it by like matter of fact. But the resolution of this

latter question (neither altogether impertinent nor absolutely necessary) might be referred to the determination of the like question, moved by interpreters upon that of Hosea i. 2: *Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms: for the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the Lord.* However they have determined or shall determine that question concerning Hosea, as whether indeed he did take a wife of fornication unto him, or only spake symbolically, (as if his sayings were to be construed for his deeds,) neither part of the determination will determine the present difficulty, how either Jeremiah or Zechariah should represent either our Saviour Christ or Judas either by word or deed. The shadow of this seeming stumblingblock hath affrighted some learned commentators out of the right way, into which they had upon good deliberation entered. To instance in one, it was well observed by Castrus upon the eleventh of Zechariah, sect. 18. pag. 486. a:

Nihilominus sicut Zacharias in sua persona referebat Christum, ita et facto suo. Nam quemadmodum pro suo munere pastoritio exigebat pretium, fidem, et pietatem ex corde, et datum est pretium vile triginta argenteorum. Ita Christus postulabat a Judæis pro suo evangelizandi munere, ut sibi crederetur, et ut Deus coleretur. At illi pretio triginta argenteorum eum æstimaverunt; et sicut propheta indignatus, quod tam vili pretio fuisset æstimatus, et pretium projecit, et eos, qui pretium illi dederunt: ita Christus projecit Judæos, et tradidit Romanis devastandos. Ne vero dicamus Zachariam Judæ personam, et Christi simul retulisse; videtur verius diversam esse
899 *prophetiam Zachariæ et Jeremiæ. Nam et Hiero-*

nymus super xxvii. *Matthæi sic ait: Legi nuper in quodam Hebraico volumine, quod Nazarææ sectæ mihi Hebræus obtulit, Jeremiæ apocryphum, in quo hæc ad verbum scripta reperi.*

" Zechariah," he grants, " did represent Christ both by personal office and by matter of fact. Zechariah did demand faith and hearty piety of his flock for his prophetical pains amongst them, and they tender him a base reward, thirty pieces of silver: so Christ required of the Jews for his evangelical function amongst them only this, that they would believe him, and worship God; and they value him at thirty pieces of silver. Again, as the prophet with indignation renounced both the base stipend which was offered to him, and the flock which did tender it, so Christ cast off the Jews which had thus disesteemed him, and delivered them over to be destroyed by the Romans. But," saith this author, " lest we should grant that the prophet Zechariah did by the same fact or resolution represent both the person of Christ and of Judas, it is more probable that the prophecy of Zechariah is different from that of Jeremiah, which St. Matthew allegeth. For Hierom upon Matthew xxvii. tells us, he had lately read a book of Jeremiah in the Hebrew tongue, which one of the sect of the Nazarenes had imparted unto him, in which he found St. Matthew's allegation word for word." Thus far Castrus.

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.

He begins his verdict in the spirit of wisdom and discretion, continueth it perplexedly, and concludeth it according to the foolishness or forgetfulness of the flesh. For that inconvenience which he so much feared, will be never a whit the less, albeit we grant him that St. Matthew's words do not refer to the fore-

cited place of Zechariah, but to those books of Jeremiah which St. Hierom had seen, or to any other prophet whatsoever, whether his works be extant or lost. And thus, being blenched in his right course by the shadow, he falls foul upon that very stumblingblock, or rather a far worse than that, which he sought to avoid : for, by his conclusion, the often forementioned allegation of St. Matthew cannot be literally or concludently referred to any prophet at all.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The clear Resolution of the third Difficulty proposed : of the fearful end of Judas, and how it was both forepictured and foretold.

1. SHALL we say then that either Zechariah or any other sacred author of the prophecy alleged by St. Matthew did represent both the person of Judas the traitor and of Jesus Christ whom he betrayed? There is no necessity to avouch thus much; nor would it be any absurdity to grant all this, and somewhat more. The parallel between the evangelist and the prophecy of Zechariah as now it is extant, (whether in the Hebrew or Septuagint,) whether he only foretold the event, or foreacted it also by like matter of fact, (which latter is more than probable,) is most exact. For Zechariah, as he himself affirmeth, did require his stipend for his prophetical function—*And they weighed him thirty pieces of silver*, Zech. xi. 12. But this stipend, after he had received it, was so contemptible in the sight of the Lord, that he said unto him, *Cast it unto the potter: a goodly price that I was priced at of them. And so he took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the Lord.* In thus undervaluing the prophet's person and pains, they did undervalue the goodness and person of that

Lord whose ambassador he was. Judas in like sort *goeth to the high priests, and asked of them, What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you? And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver.* Matt. xxvi. 15. This was the highest price which this last and worst generation of Israel did set 900
upon the chief Shepherd of their souls; not the hire or stipend for his pains, for these they set at nought. And by this act they did exactly fulfil both the prophet Zechariah's words, and the measure of their forefathers' sins, in undervaluing his ministerial labours and person. The same Lord which commanded Zechariah to cast his contemptible stipend unto the potter, did now cause Judas to throw down the price for which he sold and delivered his Lord and Master unto the chief priests and officers, in the same house of God or temple, after he had seen that it was the price of his Master's blood, not the stipend only of his treachery. That Judas did thus far repent, as to acknowledge his sin in saying, *I have sinned in betraying innocent blood*, this was the Lord's doing, or (as the evangelist saith) *that which the Lord appointed him to do*, Matt. xxvii. 10. And no Christian need be afraid to say, that Judas was moved, or appointed of the Lord, as Zechariah was, to cast down the thirty pieces of silver in the temple, to the end that his prophecy and his fact might be exactly fulfilled. Their forefathers in offering unto Zechariah thirty pieces of silver for his hire, did forepicture that their ungracious posterity would set as low a price upon the Lord himself. And those words of the Lord unto the prophet, Zech. xi. 13, *a goodly price that I was priced at*, have the same sense and importance with the like words (before cited[d]) unto Samuel, *They have not cast thee off*

[d] Chap. 26. parag. 4.

from being king, but me. If we compare ver. 13. of Zech. xi. with ver. 12, and consider the alteration of the persons speaking, they will bear this sense or importance, or rather require this construction; "Be content to forego thy stipend; for they have not only undervalued thee, and thy ministerial pains, but they have undervalued me. For as this present generation hath done by thee, so and much worse will their ungracious posterity deal with me." This is the very brief or abstract of St. Matthew, chap. xxvii. 9. 10: *Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value; and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me.* These last words cast a scruple, or rather a stumblingblock in many interpreters' ways, how the prophet Zechariah should be appointed of the Lord to buy the potter's field. But this is presently taken away, if we consider that the evangelist in the ninth and tenth verses doth make a paraphrase or exegetical exposition upon the prophet's words. Now it was ever lawful, yea the office of the apostles and evangelists, not only to quote the prophets, but to paraphrase upon, or expound as well the literal as mystical sense of their words or portendments of their facts. And if we consult the prophet himself in the original, or in the translation of the LXX, that exposition which we have made, as well of his words as of St. Matthew's paraphrase, is most naturally emergent out of the grammatical signification of the words, and the persons speaking. When the prophet speaks unto the people in his own person, he saith, *If ye think good, give me my stipend* or *hire*[e], not *my price*, as some render the original. But

[e] Zech. xi. 12, וְתֵנוּ שְׂכָרִי: δότε τὸν μισθόν μου, saith the Septuagint.

when the Lord speaks thus unto him, *Cast it to the potter*, he saith not, *a goodly stipend that I was rewarded with*, but *a goodly price, that I was priced at of them*[f]. And this distinction of the words persuades me that the prophet did really demand, and they did really pay his stipend. And in this their undervaluation of his person and pains they did por- 901
tend their posterity's disesteem of the great Prophet, the Lord himself.

2. One scruple yet remains, which if I did not, every observant reader of the prophet would cast in his own way; and it is this; what the prophet had to do with any potter in the house of the Lord? Some interpreters, without any mention of this scruple, give this reason why God commanded the prophet to throw his stipend to the potter, because his person or profession was as contemptible as the stipend was. But if this was the true reason, the party to whom he threw it was not contemptible only for the meanness of his person or profession, but contemptible amongst others of his own trade. For the word in the original hath a note of demonstration prefixed unto it; not *a* potter, but *the* potter. This scruple (if I mistake not) is already cleared in the former book[g]. For as Vatablus with the consent of some ancient Hebrew rabbins observes, the ancient reading of the Hebrew was האוצר, *unto the treasury*, or *unto the treasurer*. But in succession of time there happened a variation in reading, not by negligence of transcribers or translators, but by God's special providence, היוצר for האוצר. And this substitution of one letter for another, or alteration

[f] אֶדֶר הַיָּקָר אֲשֶׁר יֻקַרְתִּי מֵעֲלֵיהֶם: glorioſum pretium, quo appretiatus sum, Zech. xi. 13 : καὶ σκέψαι εἰ δοκίμιόν ἐστιν, ὃν τρόπον ἐδοκιμάσθην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

[g] See the seventh book of Comments on the Creed.

of the signification of the words, did most divinely character the devolution of the thirty pieces of silver, designed by Judas to the treasury or corban, unto the buying of the potter's field to bury strangers in it. Both Judas, for casting them down for the temple's use, and the chief priests in otherwise disposing of them, did as the Lord had appointed them. Neither of them did amiss in all this. The height of their sin was in buying and selling the Lord of life, specially at so low a price. This the Lord did not appoint or ordain them to do; yet did he ordain their most wicked deeds, and direct their malicious intentions to an happy end—to the redemption of all our souls, and to the fulfilling of this prophecy. And so he did ordain Judas's resolution to make away himself, unto the confirmation of our faith, and to the fulfilling of another prophecy, not much observed (for aught I read) by most interpreters. The first and last act that Judas did, after he had cast down the thirty pieces of silver in the temple, is recorded by St. Matthew xxvii. 5: *And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself.*

3. This last act was prefigured (as most have observed) by the fearful end of Ahithophel. But was the manner of his dying (which was somewhat more fearful than Ahithophel's) any where else foretold? Yes, it was most remarkably foreprophesied, psalm cix, with its circumstances, or sad consequences. First, that the imprecations throughout that psalm were literally meant of Judas, though his name be not expressed in it, is clear from St. Peter's speech unto the assembly of Christ's disciples for proceeding to the election of another apostle in Judas's place: *And in those days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples, and said, (the number of the names together*

were about an hundred and twenty,) Men and brethren, this scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake before concerning Judas, which was guide to them that took Jesus. For he was numbered with us, and had obtained part of this ministry. Now this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity; and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out. And it was known unto all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch as that field is 902
called in their proper tongue, Aceldama, that is to say, The field of blood[h]. *For it is written in the book of Psalms, Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein: and his bishoprick let another take.* Acts i. 15—20. Albeit the chief priest did bargain for the field to bury strangers in, yet inasmuch as the money wherewith they bought it was Judas's goods, not theirs, St. Peter held it no solecism to say, that *this man* (to wit, Judas) *did purchase a field with the reward of iniquity.* And seeing this field was purchased of a potter, it is but one and the same manner of speech which St. Matthew useth, (by way of paraphrase upon the prophet Zechariah,) that *Judas did cast down the thirty pieces of silver to the potter in the house of the Lord.* St. Matthew relates only *Judas' hanging of himself:* St. Peter adds further, *that falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out.* It seems, or rather it is evident, that either the rope or the gallows tree did break: the latter is more probable, if any heed be to be given to an old tradition, that he made choice of an elder tree for the gallows; a very

[h] St. Matthew adds, and saith it was called *The field of blood unto this day;* which argues, that he wrote his Gospel a long time after St. Peter made his comment upon the psalmist.

brittle wood, and such as bears no good fruit, unless it be that which is called the Jews-ear. But although we be bound to believe that most of the imprecations in this psalm were literally and concludently meant of Judas, yet it may be questioned whether they were literally meant of him alone, or directly intended against his person by the prophet David. And however it was lawful for the prophets to pray directly against particular persons living in their own time, (which for any Christian living to do is most abominable,) yet for the particular imprecations of this and some other psalmists, which were not fulfilled till after-ages, I cannot but highly approve of Genebrard's resolution upon this psalm. The extract of his resolution is, "that however David might have just occasions to supplicate for revenge upon some enemies to him and to his government, and to the God of Israel, whose deputy he was, yet his direful imprecations throughout this psalm aim at the whole host of impiety, or the body of impious men. And seeing Judas was the chief or highest member of that huge body with whom he fought, the curses which he sent forth at random (in respect of future ages) did fall perpendicularly and most punctually, in fullest measure, upon this eminent traitor to his King and country, to his Lord God."

4. All the imprecations throughout this psalm are prophetical, and have been (at least respectively) long ago fulfilled; but in which of them the manner of this traitor's fearful end was in particular punctually foretold, is not so clear as that the ordinary reader will easily see it. Nor can he be much holpen by any discoveries of most interpreters. Many besides Judas have hanged themselves; many have been surprised by sudden death, or smitten by God's revenging arrow

with sore diseases in a moment. Yet have we read of none, in whose death self intentions and secret acute diseases did so concur as they did in Judas. His own intention was only to hang himself; and this he effected. But certainly there was somewhat more in it than could naturally follow from this attempt; as, that he should burst asunder in the middle; that all his bowels should gush out, and hasten his death before the ordinary time of expiration by the ordinary course of nature in such as die that unnatural and accursed death which he sought after. But the psalmist had thus prophesied and prayed against him, psalm cix. 17, 18: *As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him:* 903 *as he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from him. As he clothed himself with cursing like as with his garment, so let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones.* Yet do we not read, nor have we any occasion to suspect, that Judas, being a companion of the blessed apostles till his death, and a continual follower of Christ the blessed whilst he lived on earth, was accustomed to swear, curse, or blaspheme. His demeanour amongst them (doubtless) was civil, not profane. How then were the psalmist's words punctually verified of him; *He loved cursing: he delighted not in blessing?* The meaning is, (as in many other places of the psalmists,) that however he did not openly swear, curse, or blaspheme, or bewray his hate to goodness, yet in his heart he did abhor the ways which tend to peace and happiness, and set himself not immediately or directly to cursedness. How then is he said to have loved cursing? Because through avarice, and stiff adherence to sinister private ends, which he had secretly proposed unto himself, he was diverted from the ways of peace and happiness, (which is the end that all men in the general

seek and wish for,) unto the crooked paths which wind to cursedness and malediction. As his addiction to these paths was secret and hid, so was the disease whereof he died. It gathered secretly, though suddenly, within his body. It soaked like oil into his bones, and into his bowels like water. And, as a good author (whose words and name I now remember not) hath conjectured, he died of a dropsy, more acute and sudden than that disease naturally is. Yet, however it bred within him, by causes natural or supernatural, it might be the true and natural cause of his bursting in the middle, and of the gushing out of his bowels. Of his sudden disease and destruction, other psalmists had likewise prophesied[i]. Now that these and the like prophetical imprecations might be exactly and remarkably fulfilled in him, the righteous Lord would not suffer him to die merely of strangling or suffocation, but smote him with these secret and sudden diseases, of what kind soever they were.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Harmony betwixt the Evangelists' Narrations or History, (from the Time our Saviour was sentenced to Death, until his Expiration upon the Cross,) and the Mosaical Prefigurations or Prophecies concerning his Death and Sufferings.

1. THERE is no knowledge comparable to the knowledge of Christ, nor is there any other part of this knowledge more useful than the contemplation of his cross. A theme of which no private Christian can meditate too often, or too much, so he follow the directions of the learned for his practice. Of this argument a great many interpreters have writ very

[i] See psalm lv. 16.

much, and a good many very well, both for the doctrinal part, and for the useful, which must be grounded upon the doctrinal. The expressions of my meditations upon this point, or (which is all one) the use or application of this grand article of belief, (for whom he died,) or what is to be done by them who intend to be 904
true partakers of this common salvation purchased by his cross; these and the like I must defer, until I have set down (as God shall enable me) the doctrinal points of his humiliation, (whereof the cross is the period,) and his exaltation, which was accomplished by his ascension. That which must confirm and cherish our belief, as well of his cross as of his resurrection and ascension, is the clear harmony between the evangelical histories themselves, and the predictions or prefigurations of what they jointly or severally relate, recorded in the books of Moses and the prophets, or the historical volumes of the Old Testament.

2. *He bearing his cross* (saith St. John) *went forth unto a place called in the Hebrew Golgotha,* chap. xix. 17. *When they had mocked him,* (saith St. Mark,) *they took off the purple from him, and put his own clothes on him, and led him out to crucify him. And they compel one Simon a Cyrenian, who passed by, coming out of the country, the father of Alexander and Rufus, to bear his cross,* chap. xv. 20, 21. Betwixt these two relations of St. John and St. Mark there is some variation, no contradiction, no such appearance of contradiction, as might be picked between St. Matthew and the other evangelists, about his riding unto Jerusalem upon the ass, and the colt, as St. Matthew saith; or, as the others express, upon the colt only. But that appearance of contradiction (as hath been set down before) will easily vanish to him

that peruseth the prophet Zechariah and the evangelists with an observant and clear eye: for he might ride part of the way upon the one, and part upon the other. In like manner, seeing his progress from the common-hall unto Golgotha was divisible, as the local distance between them was, our Saviour himself might bear his cross some part of the way, or for a while, and Simon the Cyrenian perhaps a greater part of the way, or for a longer time. Again, seeing the cross itself was not only divisible, but actually divided, our Saviour might bear one part of it all the way, and Simon another for the most part of the way between the prætorium and Golgotha. Nor is it probable that either of them should for any time, or for any portion of the way, bear both the whole cross, and the chapiter whereon the title of his accusation was engrossed by Pilate, *Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews.* That our Saviour did bear his cross out of the prætorium or place of judicature, is clear from the forecited place of St. John. And it is more than probable that he did bear it all along the city till he came to the public gate, where the soldiers meeting with Simon coming out of the country, compel him to go back again with them, and bear the cross to Golgotha. *And as they came out,* (saith St. Matthew,) or rather *as they were coming forth,* (not from the prætorium or common-hall, but from the gates of the city,) *they found a man of Cyrene: him they compelled to bear his cross.* It is clear again from St. Luke, xxiii. 26, that Simon did bear the cross, JESUS going before him. Whether our Saviour did faint under it at the gate through feebleness of body, or by long watching, I will not dispute, much less determine, though some good writers give this reason why Simon was compelled to bear it, being first laid upon our Saviour. But

whether for this reason or some other they took it from our Saviour's shoulders and laid it upon Simon's, there was a mystery in it, and at least an emblematical expression of what our Saviour before had said, *If any man will be my disciple, let him take up his cross and follow me.* For this Simon questionless either had been one of Christ's disciples before, or at this time 905
became one, as his two sons Alexander and Rufus were, when St. Mark did write his Gospel. But it is very probable that they knew him for one of his disciples, and for this reason compelled him to bear his cross, being not willing of himself to do them any service in such a wicked employment. Now though this man did meet JESUS when he was going out of the gate (as we would say) by mere chance or fortune, that is, without any intention or forecast on his part so to do, yet even this contingency was determined, and the thing itself intended by Divine Providence, that we might have a visible pattern set by this man, (though against his will,) of that duty or service which the apostle prescribeth to all that intend to be Christ's true disciples: *Jesus, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate. Let us go forth therefore unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach.* Heb. xiii. 12, 13. We must do that willingly which this man was compelled to do; that is, renounce our intended ways, and follow him, as this man did, bearing his cross.

3. After he was come to Golgotha, but before he was nailed to the cross, *they gave him wine mingled with gall,* as St. Matthew saith, or, as St. Mark, *with myrrh.* With what intention they ministered this bitter cup unto him, he best knows: not for his comfort, (as I conjecture,) but rather to add gall unto wormwood, or to make the potion more loathsome

unto him by these two bitter ingredients. For thus much the psalmist's words (which were now in part fulfilled of him) imply: *I looked for some to take pity, but there was none; and for comforters, but I found none. They gave me also gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.* psalm lxix. 20, 21. Whether the other two which were crucified with him had the like cup ministered unto them, is uncertain; but the evangelists take no notice of what was done to them. Myrrh mingled with wine being in some cases a strengthener, might be offered to them, that they might die more courageously; and our Saviour's mingled with myrrh and gall, that the psalmist's complaint might be more remarkably fulfilled in him, *Posuerunt fel in escam meam. When he had tasted of this bitter cup,* (saith St. Matthew,) *he would not drink,* chap. xxvii. 34. *They gave him to drink* (saith St. Mark) *wine mingled with myrrh: but he received it not,* chap. xv. 23. To taste of it, and not to drink of it, (as St. Matthew saith,) was not to receive it, or not to accept of it: so that there is no appearance of contradiction betwixt these two evangelists; both of them relate the same truth; but neither of them the same truth fully. St. Mark omits the mingling of the wine with gall; St. Matthew the mingling of it with myrrh, and his not receiving of it; or rather to taste of it, not to drink of it, was both to receive it, and not to receive it.

4. That the Lord was crucified betwixt two malefactors, all the evangelists agree without any variation in words: but the circumstance or order of time wherein they were crucified is not so punctually set down by any of the evangelists, as the circumstance or order of place. They were crucified all together,

one near to another, yet one after another in respect of time: *Then were there two thieves crucified with him,* (saith St. Matthew,) *one on the right hand, and another on the left,* chap. xxvii. 38. This seems to imply that our Saviour was the first that was crucified. So doth St. Mark's relation, chap. xv. 27: *And with him they crucified two thieves; one on the right hand, and another on the left.* Nor doth St. Luke any way 906
vary from these two evangelists, chap. xxiii. 32, 33: *And there were also two other, malefactors, led with him to be put to death. And when they were come to the place, which is called Calvary, there they crucified him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand, and the other on the left.* The crucifying of the Son of God between two notorious malefactors (as bad if not worse than Barabbas was) upon a cross (as is probable) somewhat higher than the other two, was so plainly foretold by the prophet Isaiah, chap. liii, that his prophecy needs no other comment than that which St. Mark hath made upon this circumstance of place wherein he was crucified: *And the scripture was fulfilled, which saith, And he was numbered with the transgressors:* or, as the Vulgar hath it, *Et cum sceleratis reputatus est.* He was not only sentenced to death, but reputed also by the multitude as a notorious malefactor; and for this reason crucified in the middle, and upon a higher cross. For this prerogative, or preeminence of place in capital punishments, was, by the custom of those times, and by other nations since, allotted to the principal offenders or ringleaders in mutinies, treasons, or rebellions. Now our Saviour (as the superscription of his cross doth witness) was put to death for high treason: *This is Jesus of Nazareth,* (or *Jesus the Nazarene,*) *the King of the Jews.* This was the entire title, or full

inscription, as the reader will easily conceive, if he compare the four evangelists together, albeit none of them taken alone doth express so much.

5. It might more easily be questioned than resolved, (for the evangelists say nothing expressly one way or other,) whether Pilate himself did write this title, or caused it to be written by some under-officer of the court; or whether it were first written in the court of justice, or at the place of execution: *Pilate* (saith St. John) *wrote a title, and put it on the cross. And the writing was, JESUS of NAZARETH the King of the Jews.* chap. xix. 19. The superscription of his accusation was, (saith St. Mark,) *The King of the Jews,* chap. xv. 26. To me it seems probable, that this title was written or dictated by Pilate in the place of judicature, because I find no probable reason to conjecture that Pilate should be present in person at the place of execution. It is probable again from St. Matthew, that the table or chapiter, wherein this title was written, was not set up till after he was crucified: *Sitting down they watched him there; and set up over his head his accusation written, This is Jesus the King of the Jews,* chap. xxvii. 36, 37. And St. John's words, chap. xix. 20, to my apprehension, do more than intimate, that few or none besides Pilate himself did know of this inscription before the cross was pitched, and our Saviour nailed unto it: *This title* (saith he) *then read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city.* To what these last words should refer I cannot conjecture, unless it be to give us notice, that the Jews which read this title might speedily inform the high priests what Pilate had written, and they as speedily intreat Pilate (as they boldly did) to correct or amend this superscription: for so it imme-

diately follows in the evangelist: *Then said the chief priests of the Jews to Pilate, Write not, The King of the Jews; but that he said, I am King of the Jews. But Pilate answered, What I have written I have written.* vv. 21, 22. The same Lord who had made Caiaphas not long before to prophesy, did now guide Pilate's hands and thoughts (though not to prophesy, yet) to proclaim unto the world in Hebrew, Greek, 907
and Latin, that this harmless man, whom they had first condemned in their own consistory for blasphemy against God, and afterwards indicted of high treason against Cæsar, was indeed their true and lawful King: a greater and more just King than Cæsar himself was; and (as the centurion afterwards confessed) *the very Son of God.* Whether the title and inscription of the crimes and names of the parties crucified were usual amongst the Romans, or used at this time only, and that over our Saviour's head alone, I leave unto the reader's search, or to such as have leisure to study Roman rites or antiquities.

6. Pilate in all probability did write, or cause to be written, this superscription, to avoid the calumniations of the Jews before the Roman Cæsar, unto whose accusations he had been the more liable, if he had suffered the crime pretended by them to have slept, or buried it in silence, without any public record that he had punished Jesus of Nazareth as a traitor to the Roman emperor. After this inscription of his accusation was set up over his head, *they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads, saying, Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself. If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross. Likewise also the chief priests mocking him, with the scribes and elders, said, He saved others; himself he cannot save. If he be the King of*

Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him. He trusted in God; let him deliver him now, if he will have him: for he said, I am the Son of God. Matt. xxvii. 39, 40, &c. All these and the like indignities done unto him, betwixt the time of the inscription over his cross until the sixth hour, are so clearly and punctually foretold by the author of psalm xxii, that it might well be questioned, whether the psalmist did speak all this in the person of Christ alone, or respectively of himself; that is, in other terms, whether this psalm was merely prophetical, as that fifty-third chapter of Isaiah (for aught I conceive) is, or typically prophetical. I rather assent unto their opinion, who grant this psalm to be meant (for the most part at least) of David himself, or of the author of it, whosoever he was, according to the literal or historical sense, though more exactly by much to be fulfilled, according both to the mystical and exquisite literal sense, in that Son of David, of whom David himself and most of the prophets, in their extremest sufferings, were but types or shadows. Unto whose poetical or hyperbolical expressions of their personal grievances in their several generations, the personal sufferings of the Son of God were in succession of time to be commensurably fitted, after such a manner as a body in his growth is to the garment, which in its infancy was far too wide for it. Some passages in this psalm there are, which cannot in any sense befit our Saviour, but the psalmist alone; some again which fit our Saviour much better than they did this psalmist, or any other prophetical type or shadow of him. Such are the casting of lots upon his vesture; the piercing of his hands and feet. But what occasions soever this psalmist had to utter the like complaints, there is no character either of desperation or murmuring against

his God in these his afflictions throughout this whole psalm: much less was there any inclination either to despair or impatience in the Son of God, in whom alone this psalm was exactly fulfilled. Neither was this psalm, or any other to be fulfilled in him, or by him, according to the characters of impatience, or least intimation of doubt or despair in this psalmist; 908 but according to their cheerful embracements of their present afflictions and crosses, according to their confidence and hope of deliverance from them, and exaltation or restauration into God's most special favour after them. All the delineations or characters of heroical qualities in the psalmists were to be substantially and exactly fulfilled in the Son of God. The conclusion of the latter part of this psalm, from the 21st verse to the end, is full of hope and comfort on the psalmist's own part, and a divine prophecy of the victory which the Son of God, of whom he was the type or shadow, should obtain over death, pains, and sorrows, more grievous than he himself did suffer. In this vision of the Son of God's victory over all these David did foresee, and rejoiced to foresee, his own redemption from the present griefs and sorrows of heart with which he was compassed. Briefly, this 22nd psalm from the beginning to the end lies under the selfsame observation with the 16th psalm[a], which without all question was penned by David himself.

7. But seeing it is to be confessed by all, that the most part of our Saviour's sufferings upon the cross, whether inwardly in body, or in cursed speeches, revilings and taunts, are most clearly foretold in that 22nd psalm; this ministered to me an occasion of a new query, why our Saviour (during all

[a] See the seventh Book of these Commentaries, sect. 3. chap. 28. sect. 5.

the time of his lingering pains upon the cross) should rehearse only the first words of this psalm; and why them only, after all the rest, which did literally and exactly concern him, had been visibly and audibly fulfilled in his bodily sufferances, grievous pains, and other indignities done unto him. Why did he not repeat that part of this psalm, *They pierced my hands and my feet*, when they first nailed him unto the cross? or why not the 18th verse, *They parted my garments*, &c., at that instant wherein the soldiers cast lots whose his vesture should be? or why not the seventh and eighth verses of the same psalm, *All they that see me laugh me to scorn: they shoot out their lips, they shake their heads, saying, He trusted in the Lord;* at that very time when they that passed by, and the priests and elders that stood by the cross, reviled him, wagging their heads? All these indignities were done unto him before the sixth hour, and in the open sun: whereas he did not utter the words of complaint, wherewith the psalmist beginneth his psalm, until the ninth hour: *When the sixth hour was come,* (saith St. Mark,) *there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour. And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani? which is, being interpreted, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* Mark xv. 33, 34. St. Matthew relateth the same story, in the same order and circumstance of time, only with this variation in words, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?* chap. xxvii. 46. St. Mark, it seems, relateth the words in the Syriac or Chaldee then usual: St. Matthew in the same syllables our Saviour spoke them, and as they are in the psalmist; for *Eli* comes nearer to the name of *Elias* than *Eloi*, and might more easily occasion that mistake in the multitude, which both the

evangelists relate, than if he had cried *Eloi:* for that was the usual appellation of God in those times. *Some of them that stood by,* (saith St. Mark,) *when they heard it, said, Behold, he calleth Elias,* Mark xv. 35. *Some of them* (saith St. Matthew) *that stood there, when they heard that, said, This man calleth for Elias. And straightway one of them ran, and took a sponge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink. The rest said, Let be, let us see whether Elias will come to* 909
save him, Matt. xxvii. 47, &c. Between St. Matthew and St. Mark in this last clause, concerning vinegar which was given unto him, there is some variation in words: *And one ran* (saith St. Mark) *and filled a sponge full of vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink, saying, Let alone; let us see whether Elias will come to take him down.* Mark xv. 36. St. Mark appropriateth that speech unto the party which ran to give him vinegar, which St. Matthew ascribeth to the rest of the multitude seeking (as his words seem to import) to inhibit him from doing that which he did. This variation in words betwixt these two evangelists hath occasioned a question more proper to the schools of physic than of divinity, as, Whether the drinking of vinegar be more effectual to prolong life or hasten death in bodies fainting, specially for want of blood? St. Mark's relation seemeth to imply, that the intention of the party which ran to give him vinegar was to prolong his life for a while, to try whether Elias would come and take him down from the cross. But from St. Matthew's relation of the same story it is probable that the multitude which heard him utter these words, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* did presume that vinegar would shorten his life; and for

this reason, as much as in them lay, did inhibit the other to give him vinegar, lest it might have been replied, that Elias would have come to relieve him, if he had not hastened his death. But vinegar, as it is thought by Galen himself, (if some good commentators do not misquote him,) mingled with hyssop, is a strengthener; and that the vessel of vinegar which St. John saith stood by the cross, was set there on purpose to keep such as were crucified from fainting. However, there is no contradiction between the evangelists. For the multitude did therefore inhibit him that ran for vinegar, lest by thus doing he should prolong his life; as if they had said, 'Seeing he calls for Elias, stay thine hand, and see whether Elias will come to recover him in his fainting.' And he which gave him vinegar, after he had given it him, did conform himself unto the rest; as if he had said, 'I have done this kindness for him to prolong his life a while; let us see whether Elias will come and take him down, and free him from the cross.' The truth is, that albeit he which made such haste to minister vinegar unto him, did do this feat at the same time, or about that instant, wherein our Saviour cried out, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?* yet this exclamation did no way cause him to make such speed, but rather moved the rest which heard these words (perhaps better than he did) to dissuade him from doing that which he intended upon another occasion. That which moved him to do as he did, was another speech of our Saviour's, uttered by him when he was on the cross, either immediately before or immediately after he cried out, *Eli, Eli,* &c., though not with such a loud voice as he uttered that. And this speech is mentioned only by St. John xix. 28—30: *Jesus knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled,*

saith, I thirst. Now there was set a vessel full of vinegar: and they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it upon hyssop, and put it to his mouth. When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he said, It is finished. So that the intention of him that filled the sponge with vinegar, and put it upon hyssop, and put it to his mouth, was to quench his thirst whereof he complained. But whether St. John meaneth the same thing by *hyssop* which the other two evangelists mean by the *reed*, or whether ὕσσωπος in the ecclesiastical 910
Greek be the same with that which we call hyssop, or rather rosemary, which is rather a *frutex* than an herb, and better resembleth a reed than hyssop, let professed critics, or such as have leisure to peruse herbalists, or such as write of plants, determine. Many probabilities there are, and to my remembrance alleged by Gerard, (not the famous herbalist, but that learned divine yet living,) which half persuades me that the Hebrew אֵזוֹב, whence ὕσσωπος in ecclesiastical Greek seems to be derived, was the branches or stalks of rosemary. But these are points wherein a man may be altogether ignorant without any detriment, or very skilful without any great advantage to the knowledge of JESUS CHRIST, and of him crucified. But unto this ocean of celestial knowledge, the fulfilling of every prophecy, of every legal ceremony, of every historical type or shadow, maketh some addition.

8. Amongst other prophecies or testimones typically prophetical, which remained to be fulfilled after our Saviour cried out with a loud voice, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?* that complaint of the psalmist, ps. lxix. 21, was one: *They gave me also gall for to eat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.* He saith not, They gave him gall to eat in his hunger: and for

this reason haply he would not receive the wine which was mingled with gall by way of scorn or mocking, (as St. Luke instructs us, chap. xxiii. 36,) as being then neither hungry nor thirsty. But St. John informeth us, he received the vinegar offered unto him at the ninth hour, because he was in extremity of thirst. At this hour, and not before, that of the psalmist, psalm xxii. 15, was remarkably fulfilled in him: *My strength is dried up like a potsherd; and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws: thou hast brought me into the dust of death.* As after his fasting forty days in the wilderness, he was tempted with hunger; so after his lingering pains upon the cross, he was truly thirsty: and upon this sensible experience of the greatest bodily grievance that can befall a man, he said, *I am athirst*, but not with a loud voice or exclamation. Whether he first said, *I am athirst*, and then cried out with a loud voice, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* or first cried out, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* and then said, *I am athirst*, I will not dispute, because I cannot determine. The latter of the two seemeth to me more probable. However, neither his speech nor exclamation intimate any touch of impatience, much less of despair; but only a desire to give the world notice that this 22nd psalm was specially meant of him, and that all which was meant of him concerning his humiliation or indignities done unto him upon the cross was now fulfilled; and that there remained one or two sayings of the same or some other psalmist to be fulfilled before his death, especially by receiving the vinegar: for *when he had received it*, (saith St. John,) *he said, Consummatum est, It is finished;* as if he had said, 'Now my sufferings and indignities are at an end.' Yet besides the bodily thirst, wherewith he

was at the ninth hour more deeply touched than with hunger in the wilderness, there was a thirsty desire of his soul to be dissolved from the body, and to be with his Father. And in this his last extremity, that other complaint of David was most exactly fulfilled: *I stretch forth my hands unto thee: my soul thirsteth after thee, as a thirsty land. Hear me speedily, O Lord: my spirit faileth: hide not thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit. I remember the days of old; I meditate on all thy works; I muse on all the works of thy hands.* Psalm cxliii. 6, 7, 5.911 David was delivered from the pit which he feared, but our Saviour was speedily heard for that he prayed; which was, that his body might go unto the grave, and his soul and spirit unto his Father. And albeit St. John instructeth us, that after he had received the vinegar, and said, *It is finished, he gave up the ghost;* yet St. Matthew and St. Mark[b] tell us, that *he cried again with a loud voice, and so gave up the ghost.* The articulation of this loud voice or cry is registered only by St Luke, xxiii. 46: *And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said thus, he gave up the ghost.* And in this cry or speech another scripture or prayer of David was exactly fulfilled: *Pull me out of the net that they have laid privily for me: for thou art my strength. Into thine hands I commend my spirit.* Psalm xxxi. 4, 5. But how was this fulfilled in him? Surely as the prophet, or the Holy Ghost by whom he spake, did mean it. How then was it meant of him? Not merely prophetically, but typically of the psalmist, and more really and punctually of him. The psalmist in his own person, or as acting his own part, did commend

[b] Matt. xxvii. 50. Mark xv. 37.

his spirit to God his Redeemer, in hope to be redeemed from death, or danger of body intended against him. The Redeemer of mankind using the same words, desired bodily death, or dissolution of body and soul, commending his soul or spirit by a dying wish into his Father's hands.

9. The 143rd psalm (as the inscription of the Septuagint informeth us) was composed by David, when his son Absalom with his complices did pursue him; and the sixth verse, *I stretch out my hands*, &c., is signed with a *selah*, a note or character, as I take it, not of music only, but of some greater mystery to be fulfilled. The mystery in this particular was this, that as David after he had in his own person prayed for deliverance, and was heard, so was the Son of David, instantly after he had received the vinegar, delivered from the torments of death, or bodily pains: *When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar*, (saith St. John,) *he said, It is finished: and he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost.* Chap. xix. 30. If we consider either the 143rd psalm or the 31st as literally meant of David, there is no intimation of any distraction of mind in him; much less was there any inclination to any distraction, discontent, or distrust, in JESUS the Son of GOD, in whom whatsoever was commendably acted by David in his distress, was most punctually and exquisitely fulfilled of this our blessed Saviour in all his sufferings. His memory was most fresh, and his patience most remarkable, when his mortal spirits were expiring.

10. That ejaculation, psalm xxxi. 6, *Into thy hands I commend my spirit*, was (saith Maldonate) meant of Christ in another sense than it was of David: rather fulfilled of Christ in a more exquisite sense than it had been verified of David. David, according to the literal

and historical sense, being in distress, commends the tuition or safety of his soul unto God, directing his prayer for speedy deliverance from that bodily danger wherewith he was beset unto Adonai Jehovah, unto the Lord of truth, or the Lord God his Redeemer: *Pull me out of the net that they have laid privily for me: for thou art my strength*, &c. *Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord of truth.* Psalm xxxi. 4, 5. The Lord God, Redeemer of mankind, directs his prayer unto his Father, *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit*, after he had suffered all the disgraces, pains and tortures, whereof any mortal body was ever capable. This delivery or surrender of his 912
life and soul, *viva voce*, at the very moment or point of death into his Father's hands, did move the heathen centurion to say, *Of a truth this man was the Son of God*, Mark xv. 39. *When the centurion* (saith St. Luke) *saw what was done, he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous man*, chap. xxiii. 47. This is in effect the very same which St. Mark saith: for in that the centurion did acknowledge him for a righteous man, he did necessarily in his heart acknowledge him to be the Son of God, because he had so professed of himself. That righteousness, which the centurion ascribeth unto him, was the truth of his confession before Pilate, when he was examined upon this interrogatory, *Art thou then the Son of God?* now more fully proved and declared unto the world by the strange manner of his death.

11. The confession of this heathen man was more Christian than the questions which some schoolmen have moved upon the delivery of his soul, *viva voce*, into his Father's hands. For so some have questioned, whether he were *homicida sui*, or made away himself by actual dissolution of his soul from his body, before

the violence and cruelty of the tortures whereto his enemies put him could by course of nature work this divorce. Surely, if he did any way prevent the death intended against him by the Jews, or shortened his own natural life, though but for a moment, they had not been so true and proper murderers of him as the apostle intimateth, and we Christians believe they were. For albeit Abimelech had received a deadly incurable wound by the hands of a woman, yet he died by the hands of his page or armourbearer: *And a certain woman cast a piece of a millstone upon Abimelech's head, and all to brake his scull. Then he called hastily unto the young man his armour-bearer, and said unto him, Draw thy sword, and slay me, that men say not of me, A woman slew him. And his young man thrust him through, and he died.* Judges ix. 53, 54. But as some schoolmen have in the disquisition of this point gone too far, so others have acutely resolved the difficulty, and elegantly reconciled the difference in opinions: *Mors Christi non fuit vere miraculosa, erat tamen miraculum in morte Christi:* Christ did no way make away himself, or die by miracle, but by course of nature; yet was it a true miracle, that his life and spirits being so far spent, he should have speech and memory so perfect, as to make delivery of his soul into his Father's hands, *viva voce,* at the very moment of his expiration. The Jews and Romans did truly and properly take away his life, and yet he did as truly and properly, *animam ponere, lay down his life for his sheep,* in that he patiently submitted himself to their tyrannical cruelty: and more sweetly and placidly resigned up his soul into his Father's hands at the instant of death by course of nature, or perhaps a little after it, than a sheep doth his fleece unto the shearer or his owner.

In this resignation, or bequeathing of his soul thus placidly into his Father's hands, in his inimitable patience in all his sufferings, whether of torture or indignities, there was a most exact concurrence (or coincidence rather) of all former sacrifices and obedience; more than the quintessence of those sacrifices wherewith God was always best pleased, that is, the sacrifice of a contrite spirit, and broken heart not humbled, but humbling itself unto death. The most full and proper satisfactory sacrifice that could be required by God or desired by man; a sacrifice so complete, as no wisdom besides wisdom truly infinite could have conceived; no person besides the person 913
of him that was truly God could have offered or performed.

CHAP. XXX.

That the Son of God should be offered up in bloody Sacrifice was concludently prefigured by the intended Death of Isaac.

1. THAT the Son of God should be thus offered as a true and proper bloody sacrifice was concludently prefigured by the sacrifice of Isaac, intended by his father Abraham: that the cross whereon he offered himself should be the very altar of altars, the body which the legal altars did foreshadow; and that this cross should be erected without the gate of Jerusalem, was foreshadowed by other matters of fact recorded by Moses. To begin with the first type, to wit, Isaac. The place appointed by God himself for the sacrifice of Isaac was either the mount whereon the temple stood, or some mount near unto it, if not Calvary itself: *And when Abraham came near to the foot of the mount,* (which of the mountains of Moriah soever it were,) *he*

laid the wood for the burnt offering on Isaac his son[c]. Isaac then bare his cross unwittingly, and was afterwards willing by gentle persuasions to die upon the wood which he bare: for if he had detested or abhorred the fact intended upon him, he was of years and strength sufficient to have resisted his father, he being at least twenty-five years of age, and Abraham one hundred and twenty-five. *Now our Saviour* (as the evangelists record) *went forth bearing his cross unto a place called in Hebrew Golgotha,* either a place where the sculls of dead men were laid, or rather for the form or fashion of it like a scull. But here some curious inquisitor, or one disposed to examine or scan the relations of the evangelists, as lawyers do later evidences by more ancient deeds, would interpose this or the like exception, *Non concordat cum originali.* For our Saviour Christ (as the evangelists record) was really sacrificed, actually crucified, and put to death; but so was not Isaac, as Moses tells us. But all this will infer no more than all good Christians must of necessity grant, to wit, that the evangelical records are more than mere exemplifications of Moses. For that which was verified or truly foreshadowed in Abraham's readiness to sacrifice his only son, and in his son's willingness to be sacrificed by him, was to be really and exactly fulfilled of God the Father, who had bound himself by promise to give his only Son unto mankind, and in the willingness of this his only Son JESUS CHRIST to be offered up in sacrifice for the sins of the world. Our apostle is not afraid to say, that *Abraham by faith offered up his only son,* (that very man upon whose life or death the fulfilling of the promises made to Abraham and his seed did

[c] Genesis xxii.

depend,) *accounting* or *being resolved that God was able to raise him up, even from the dead; from whence also he received him in a figure.* Heb. xi. 17. 19. Isaac then was a true figure both of Christ's death and resurrection. And Abraham, first in stretching forth his hands to slay his only son, and secondly, in being prohibited by God from accomplishing his 914
resolution, did accurately foreshadow those fundamental truths which we Christians believe concerning the true and bodily death and resurrection of our Lord and Saviour. Abraham (by benign interpretation of the mind or resolution for the very fact or deed) did both sacrifice his only son and receive him from the dead.

2. But was there no more than a tentation or trial of Abraham's faith in that story of Moses, Gen. xxii? If no more than so, the tempting or trial itself might seem superfluous. For God, who knoweth all things, as well possible as determinate or future, did most infallibly know what Abraham would do upon his command, what he would leave undone upon express prohibition. This only concludeth, that the omnipotent and all-seeing Father of power did not stand in need of the determination of Abraham's will, either to foresee or determine that which upon this actual obedience of Abraham he did first bind himself by oath to perform; that which long before he had decreed *ad extra*, and in his general expression of his mercy and lovingkindness he had promised to do. We had his promise before mankind was actually propagated or multiplied upon the earth, *that the woman's seed should bruise the old serpent's head* which had seduced her. The like comfortable words were at sundry times interposed by God himself to Noah and Abraham.

3. But upon this present fact of Abraham, the same Lord interposeth his oath (and it was the first oath which we read that God did make) for the fulfilling of the general promise in one of Abraham's seed: *Because thou hast done this thing, and hast not spared thine only son, by myself have I sworn—that in thy seed all the nations of the earth shall be blessed.* But did not this God of mercy and consolation infallibly know that Abraham would be ready to do all that he commanded him to do? Yes, certainly, and more than so, that Abraham should not do all which he first commanded him to do. Why then did he command him to sacrifice his only son Isaac? To this end, that he might have Abraham's full consent to offer up one of his seed, but not Isaac, for the accomplishing of the blessing promised to mankind from the date of the curse pronounced against the first woman. Inasmuch as Abraham was willing to sacrifice his only son, the son of his old age, whom he loved more dearly than he could have done any one or more sons, or than he could have loved him if he had been the son of his middle age; his consent for the sacrificing of any other, either of his or Isaac's posterity, whosoever he were, was evidently included in this his extraordinary obedience. And yet so graciously and lovingly did God deal with Abraham, that albeit he was the Lord of all, and Abraham's most gracious Lord in particular, that he would not seize upon any of Abraham's seed for a sacrifice of atonement betwixt himself and the whole world, without Abraham's consent. This gracious Lord then by interposing the forementioned oath, *that in Abraham's seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed,* was abundantly merciful, not to Abraham only, but unto all mankind by him. And yet, as Rupertus (out of St. Chrysostom,

if my memory fails me not) observeth, this abundant mercy was not *diluta misericordia*, that is, this mercy though incomparable was well placed, and the accomplishment of it assured upon most just and equitable, though not upon any valuable considerations. *Quæsivit Deus titulum in Abrahamo*, saith this author, &c. God from the first promise made to mankind did 915
expect a fit occasion to confirm it by solemn oath, and found out Abraham, a man, *quoad hæc*, according to his own heart for accepting this league or covenant betwixt him and man upon earnest given or resolved to be given by Abraham. For God had before determined to give his Son for the redemption of men, and now finding Abraham most willing and ready to give him his only son, and finding also Abraham's only son obedient unto death, he binds himself by solemn oath, that he would give his only Son, and that his only Son, being made the seed of Abraham, should be more willing than Isaac was to be offered up in bloody sacrifice for the redemption of mankind. But the contents or importances of God's covenant made by oath unto Abraham, were they to be handled alone, would require a larger volume and longer disquisition than I dare in these years and in this weakness project. So much of them as I conceive to be pertinent unto these commentaries upon the Apostles' Creed shall be intermingled (by God's assistance) in the explication of the articles following.

4. But taking all that hath been said for granted, to wit, that God by demanding Isaac in sacrifice, or by pressing Abraham to be the sacrificer, did bind himself by oath to offer up his only Son in such a bloody sacrifice as Abraham had destinated Isaac unto: yet the captious Jews or other infidels would thus except, that Abraham never intended, nor was he by God

commanded to offer up his only son Isaac upon the cross, for that did not only imply a bloody, but an accursed kind of death. This indeed is the main stumbling-block to the Jew, who perhaps would not so much as have *scunnered* at the altar, if our Saviour had been offered upon it, specially in the temple, or in the courts adjoining. The next queries then, for satisfaction of the Jews or other infidels, (if God at any time shall vouchsafe them eyes to see, or ears to hear,) are, in what sacred writings acknowledged by them the bloody sacrifice of Abraham's seed, or his sufferings upon a tree or cross without the city of Jerusalem, not in the courts or precincts of the Lord's house, were either foretold or foreshadowed.

CHAP. XXXI.

That the Son of God should be offered upon a Tree or Cross, was prefigured by Moses' Erection of the brazen Serpent in the Wilderness.

1. THAT the death of the Messias or Son of God upon the cross was prefigured by Moses' lifting up of the brazen serpent upon a pole (perhaps a cross) in the wilderness, this Son of God did instruct his timorous disciple Nicodemus, who came to him by night, more fully than he did such as were his daily followers, until the time approached wherein he was to suffer this ignominious death. His sacred catechism to this disciple is exactly registered by St. John, and uttered by him some years before that last feast of tabernacles whereat Nicodemus was present. *No man* (saith our Saviour unto him) *hath ascended up to*
916 *heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven. And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must*

the Son of man be lifted up. John iii. 13, 14. While the Son of man was lifted up, the Son of God was likewise lifted up, that is, by way of sacrifice or atonement. That the efficacy of this atonement should proceed from virtue or power of himself, as he was the Son of God, he himself instructeth us, vv. 16, 17: *For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved.* The end then of his coming into the world was to save it; and the end of his lifting up upon the cross, was to draw all men to look upon him, as the Israelites, who were stung with fiery serpents, did upon the brazen serpent which Moses erected in the wilderness. To this purpose he afterwards expounds himself, when he repeateth his catechism made to Nicodemus unto the people, John xii: *And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.* He did and doth draw all men unto him, not drag any after him. Such as will not be gently drawn by him, their perdition is from themselves: and however all shall not in the issue be saved by him, yet he is the Saviour of all, though especially of such as believe, that is, of such as out of the sense and feeling of their sins (which are the stings of death) seek that remedy for their souls from meditations upon the cross, or upon him crucified, which God's people in the wilderness did for their bodies, by looking upon the brazen serpent erected by Moses.

2. That bodily salvation which they enjoyed by observing of this divine prescript, was not procured by the material serpent on which they looked, but by the virtue of that invisible power, whose spiritual efficacy

was in times following to be more visibly manifested in the accomplishment of that grand mystery, which this strange temporal healing did prefigure: and that was the future cure of our souls; our deliverance from the tyranny of the old serpent by the Son of God becoming the Son of man, and vouchsafing to be lifted up from the earth upon the cross. *For it was requisite, that upon them exercising tyranny should come penury, which they could not avoid: but to these it should only be shewed how their enemies were tormented. For when the horrible fierceness of beasts came upon these, and they perished with the stings of crooked serpents, thy wrath endured not for ever: but they were troubled for a small season, that they might be admonished, having a sign of salvation, to put them in remembrance of the commandment of thy law. For he that turned himself towards it was not saved by the thing that he saw, but by thee, that art the Saviour of all.* Wisd. xvi. 4—7.

3. Shall we say then that the brazen serpent was a true picture or type of Christ? So many have from the forecited place of St. John concluded; and of these many, not a few have sought out divers properties of brass, and of serpents, more than accurate naturalists before had known, to salve up the apparent incongruity betwixt the picture and the body which they would have it to represent. But when they have said all they can, or others more than they could for them, the congruity will be no better than *si gryphes jungantur equis.* For what correspondency or conveniency can there be between the serpent and the woman's seed? Shall we attempt to foreshadow light by darkness? or make a league betwixt Christ and
917 Belial? All that which our Saviour's exposition upon Moses' fact will concludently infer, is briefly this,

that the mystery of his suffering upon the cross was prefigured by the erection of the brazen serpent, and by the comfort which the wounded Israelites found by looking upon it.

4. Ahithophel's treachery against his master David did truly foreshadow the betraying of David's Lord by Judas; yet no man will hence conclude, that Ahithophel was a type of Christ, or of his death, but rather of Judas and his fearful end. Nor was the brazen serpent any otherways a type of Christ's person than Ahithophel was, that is, no type at all: yet a more excellent type of that old serpent whom the woman's seed was to vanquish, than Ahithophel was of Judas. And the erection of this serpent upon a pole or tree was a prophecy or speaking picture, that the victory of the woman's seed or Son of God over Satan should be accomplished upon the cross. This interpretation I learn from our Saviour himself, John xii. 31: *Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out. Now*, that is, when the Son of man shall be lifted up. The cross then was the scene or stage wherein the long duel was to be determined; and the destruction of the old fiery serpent upon the stage was excellently foreshadowed by the lifting up of the brazen serpent in the wilderness, which questionless did better represent a dead, wounded, or bruised serpent, than a live or active one. This interpretation, or display of that sacred emblem, is most consonant to the historical circumstances and occasions which Moses had, to make and set up the brazen serpent upon a pole to the view of all the people. God from the fall of our first parents did, by way of punishment, as well upon the woman and her seed, as upon the serpent and his seed, which had seduced her, denounce a perpetual enmity between them. Now

albeit this enmity did principally consist between the woman's seed κατ' ἐξοχήν, that is, our Saviour, and the old serpent, that is, the devil, and their followers; yet this spiritual enmity was visibly represented to the world by that antipathy which in course of nature is usually experienced between men and bodily serpents. And this enmity (specially on the serpent's part) was never more remarkable than in the wilderness, when the murmuring Israelites did tempt the Lord their God after the same manner as the first woman had done, that is, by lusting after meats for that time and place forbidden; by loathing manna and heavenly food which God had plentifully provided for them. *And they departed from the mount Hor by the way of the Red sea, to compass the land of Edom: and the people were sore grieved because of the way. And the people spake against God, and against Moses, saying, Wherefore have ye brought us out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? for here is neither bread nor water; and our soul loatheth this light bread. Wherefore the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people, which stang the people, so that many of the children of Israel died. Therefore the people came to Moses, and said, We have sinned, for we have spoken against the Lord, and against thee; pray unto the Lord, that he take away the serpents from us. And Moses prayed for the people. And the Lord said unto Moses, Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live. And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole, and it came to pass, if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived.* Numb. xxi. 4—8, &c.

918 5. The importance or implication of the history is,

that as God had now brought that curse upon them, which had been denounced against the woman's seed from her first sin: so in case they would not tempt the Lord their God by renewing their first parents' sin, they should in good time see the curse denounced against the old serpent, that is, the crushing of his head, as exactly fulfilled as the punishment upon the woman's seed had been by the fiery serpents in biting their heels: that the same Lord who had now saved them from the poison of these lesser bodily serpents, would in his good time deprive the old serpent of his deadly sting, and destroy death itself by dying upon the cross. The experience of woes or calamities, threatened against disobedience is usually given by God's prophets[d], as a pledge or earnest for the accomplishment of the good things which he hath promised to the penitent.

6. That which specially did first persuade me thus to display the emblem of the brazen serpent, was the demolition of it by good Hezekiah, who questionless would never have done to it as he did, had he known or taken it to have been the type or figure of his expected Redeemer, rather than of his enemy. The good king, by this zealous fact, did foreshadow the future accomplishment of that grand mystery, which the erection of the brazen serpent was appointed to represent, to wit, the dissolution of the old serpent's kingdom over this world. The adoration of this serpent, whilst it stood uncrushed, was not only an abuse of things indifferent, but the most preposterous idolatry which this rebellious stiffnecked people did at any time practise. For in worshipping it they did worship him whose quality and person it did represent. And for this reason Hezekiah was moved with greater indig-

[d] Jeremiah xxxii. 42.

nation against it, than against any other idol, statue, or relics of idolatry which came in his way: *He took away the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense unto it: and he called it Nehushtan.* 2 Kings xviii. 4. A name questionless implying much more than the mere grammatical expression (which most interpreters use) imports. Nor had this good king's words or fact been worth the registering, if he had only called a brazen serpent broken to pieces a piece of brass. But the full importance of this word, as of many others in the original, whether in the Greek or Hebrew, will not be easily found in ordinary lexicons or nomenclators. Every good interpreter should have a lexicon, either of his own or others' gathering, peculiar unto divinity, specially for words used in a technical, emblematical, or proverbial sense. However, *nechosheth* signifies no more ordinarily than *brass*, yet *Nehushtan*, in this emblematical speech or fact of Hezekiah, (as I should guess,) imports no less than our English *foul fiend*, *the old dragon*, or *Satanas*. As these idolaters in Hezekiah's time did adore the picture or type of the old serpent, so this last generation, having forsaken the God of their fathers, did choose Barabbas the son of the serpent, and renounced the Son of God for being their Lord, and so made up the full measure of their forefathers' iniquity, and brought a greater plague upon their posterity, than any which did befall their ancestors in the wilderness, whether by the biting of serpents, or other of God's judgments or punishments.

919 7. To this effect I took occasion to expound this fact of Hezekiah *obiter*, and upon another text, in a

learned audience many years now ago, without the tax of any, (as far as I could hear,) and with better approbation of some then present than I expected, because the exposition was new and uncouth; and yet, as I have found since, conceived before by a learned man, though no professed divine. But (as the proverb is) bystanders sometimes see more than they who play the game. And I must freely confess, that for the explication of many places in scripture I have learned more, or been better confirmed in mine opinions by the lawyers, than by the professed divines of the French nation, one or two excepted. The man to whom I am in this particular beholden is Hotman:

Quodque in ipsius historia singulari memoria dignum est, serpentem æneum, quem Dei monitu Moses in solitudine statuerat, ut qui serpentum morsu ulcerati essent, eo conspecto sanarentur, excidit atque disjecit, cum animadvertisset populum superstitione imbutum divinos statuæ honores tribuere. Non enim ei simulachro vis ulla divinitus inerat, sed cum hæc divinæ religionis esset pueritia, Moses Hebreæ gentis pædagogus, eo simulachro futurum Christi de serpente devicto trophæum designabat, cum serpentis nomine callidum (ut a principio dictum est) humani generis hostem significaret[e].

"And that which in his history deserves to be had in special memory, he demolished and cast down the brazen serpent which Moses by God's command had set up in the desert, that such as were stung by the biting of serpents might be healed by looking thereon, when he perceived the superstitiously-bent people thereunto idolatrously to attribute divine honour. For there was not in that image any divine efficacy, but

e Hotman in Consolatione e sacris Literis petita, de factis Ezechiæ, pag. 128.

this being the time of infancy of God's worship, Moses, the schoolmaster of the Hebrews, by this image did prefigure Christ's triumph over the conquered serpent, when by the name of *serpent* (as is said at the beginning[f]) he intimated the subtle enemy of mankind."

CHAP. XXXII.

That the Son of God should suffer without the Gates of Jerusalem, prefigured by the Sacrifice of the Atonement.

1. BUT before God's people could be capable of this cure of their souls, by looking upon him who did vanquish the old serpent, or before he came to be the author of so great salvation, he was to make full satisfaction for their sins, whose weight had otherways pressed all mankind down to hell. This full reconciliation or atonement betwixt the just unpartial Judge and sinful men, was made upon the cross. But some will demand in what part of Moses' writings this was foretold or prefigured? It was most exquisitely foretold and prefigured, partly in the alienation of the primacy from the month Tisri unto the month Abib. Until the law was given, Tisri had absolute precedency, being the month wherein, accord-
920 ing to all probability, the world was created. But upon the deliverance of Abraham's seed from the tyranny of Egypt, the month Abib by God's special command had both precedency and preeminency: yet not absolute precedency, but precedency in respect of that which was more preeminent, to wit, for the spiritual or ecclesiastical account; as for their accounts temporal, September or Tisri did still retain precedency; and for this reason, I take it, our Saviour

[f] Scilicet in 3. cap. ejus libelli.

was first proclaimed the Messias by John Baptist in the month Tisri, but afterwards declared to be the Son of God by his resurrection from the dead in the month Abib. At his baptism he had fulfilled one part of the mystery prefigured in the legal feast of atonement, which was celebrated upon the tenth day of the month Tisri. In his sufferings upon mount Calvary, he did fully accomplish that which was prefigured by the legal sacrifices in the day of atonement, and that which was inchoated by himself at the day of his baptism. At his baptism[g] he fulfilled the mystery of the scapegoat, bearing these people's sins into the wilderness, and there vanquished the great tempter, who had first vanquished them and their forefathers. At the feast of the passover, in the month Abib, he accomplished the mystery prefigured by the other goat, whose blood was brought by the high priest into the sanctuary. Thus much we learn from our apostle, Heb. xiii. 10, &c.: *We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle. For the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin, are burned without the camp. Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate. Let us go forth therefore unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach.* The true meaning or purport of this passage, and the connexion of it with the former, the reader shall find more at large in a sermon to be annexed, (by God's assistance,) with others, to this present and the former treatise. All in this place intended by me, is to satisfy such as will be satisfied, that our Saviour's sufferings upon the cross were a most true and proper sacrifice—a sacrifice fully satisfactory for the sins of

[g] See Christ's Answer to John.

the world—the accomplishment of all the sacrifices of the law—the only sacrifice whereof the anniversary sacrifices used in the feast of atonement were but shadows, no true images. Again, that the anniversary sacrifices of the passover which were in the month Abib, and those in the feast of atonement, were to be jointly accomplished at one and the same time, to wit, in the first month after this people's delivery out of Egypt, is implied in the alteration of the account upon their deliverance. For that alteration portendeth, that in the very same month in which they were delivered, there should be in after-times a more general deliverance of God's people, whose memory should deserve the precedency of all feasts and solemnities. Such was that feast of the passover wherein our Saviour suffered.

2. As for all the circumstances of place or time, or the like, wherein other legal sacrifices were offered, the mysteries prefigured by them could not possibly be accomplished in one and the same time and place by any sacrifice, not by the sacrifice of the Son of God himself, though all-sufficient for its substance. For if he should have fulfilled the sacrifice of atonement in the feast of atonement, and the sacrifice of the paschal lamb in the month Abib, or in the place where it was offered, he must have died oftener than once, and in more places than one. For the mystery
921 prefigured by the paschal lamb, that was accomplished in due time on the day appointed for that sacrifice. So was the altar whereon he was offered, that is, the cross, the accomplishment of the figurative place whereon the first paschal lamb was offered, and that was the lintels or doorposts of the Israelites' houses on which the blood of the paschal lamb was sprinkled. But the slaughter of the paschal lamb in the first

institution was *intra pomœria*, within the doors or precincts of private families, or within the compass of public places of meetings. So that in respect of the place wherein the true paschal lamb and the true Lamb of God was slain or sacrificed there is some disparity, yet a full harmony between the substance of both sacrifices and the circumstances of time wherein they were offered. But this defect, or rather this variation concerning the circumstance of place, wherein the paschal lamb, and the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world, were offered, is most exactly recompensed by the circumstance of place wherein the body of the he-goat, on which the Lord's lot should fall, and other sacrifices in the day of atonement, were by a most peremptory law to be consumed. And that place was without the camp, whilst the posterity of Jacob had no temple, or no fixed place of worshipping God, but a moveable tabernacle. *Also the bullock for the burnt offering, and the goat for the sin offering, whose blood was brought to make a reconciliation in the holy place, shall one carry out without the host, to be burnt in the fire with their skins, and with their flesh, and with their dung.* Levit. xvi. 27[h]. This is the apostle's meaning in the forecited place, Hebrews xiii: *Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate*, that is, without the city, yet near the suburbs of Jerusalem, whose type or figure was the camp of the Israelites in the wilderness, or at that time wherein the tabernacle was moveable. For the tabernacle was but a model or pattern of the temple in Jerusalem, as the camp of the Israelites in the wilderness was of Jerusalem itself.

[h] Vide Chytræum in hoc caput.

3. And however their God and supreme Lawgiver did by a peremptory law enjoin his people that no manner of bloody sacrifice should be offered, or at least no public solemn feast be celebrated, save only in Jerusalem, after the ark was brought into it and placed in the temple; yet the circumstance of the place wherein our Saviour was sacrificed was exactly foreshadowed by the place wherein the anniversary sacrifices in the feast of atonement, during the time of this people's progress in the wilderness or moveable tabernacle, were offered, and that was without the camp or trenches of that great congregation.

4. The sum of all the forementioned prefigurations or predictions, whether of our Saviour's offering up of himself according to his Father's will and appointment, or of the times and places wherein he was offered, is this, that this his offering up of himself was a true and proper sacrifice; a more full satisfaction for all the sins or transgressions of men against the moral law of God, than the sacrifices in the feast of atonement, or the passover, or other anniversary solemnities, were for sins, whether of omission or commission, merely against the law of ceremonies. This is most divinely expressed by our apostle, Hebrews ix. 13, as hath been handled more at large before[i].

922

CHAP. XXXIII.

At what Hour of the Day our Saviour was crucified, at what Hour taken down from the Cross, and of the Mysteries ensuing his Death.

1. ABOUT the time of the year, as in what month, and in what day of the month, the Lamb of God was offered, or did offer up himself in bloody sacrifice,

[i] Section 2.

there is no question of moment, or none at least which may not easily be resolved. But as concerning the time of the day, or hour wherein he was offered, there is more than variety of opinions amongst the learned: some apparance of contradiction between two, over whom, were they now alive, no authority now on earth could have any power, either of arbitration or jurisdiction: *It was the third hour*, saith St. Mark, *and they crucified him*, &c., chap. xv. 25, designing the time after he was brought to Golgotha, and *refused to taste of the wine mingled with myrrh*; whereas St. John, speaking of the time a little before Pilate gave sentence, saith, *It was the preparation of the sabbath, and about the sixth hour*, chap. xix. 14. That the various relations of these two evangelists (if we take them as they are extant in most copies) should be reconciled, there is a necessity: and if either of their own writings were to be corrected by the other, St. John's Gospel (as Maldonate well observeth) were to be corrected by St. Mark's. For St. Mark's assertion is punctual and precise, and between the ancient manuscripts and modern exemplifications of his Gospel there is no variation, but in St. John's there are. For in some copies yet extant, and in some which Nonnus in his poetical paraphrast did follow, there is express mention of the third hour, not of the sixth. Whence it is probably conjectured by some, that the sixth hour was inserted by the transcribers of St. John's Gospel for the third, upon a mistake of the figures or numerical characters; the numerical character of the sixth hour being not much unlike the numerical character of the third hour. And yet it cannot be denied, that in some ancient manuscripts of the Greek Testament now extant, the numbers of hours or days or years are expressed in entire words, not in

figures or numerical characters. But whether this manner of expressing numbers was usual *ab initio*, or in the times when St. John wrote, or used at all by him, is not so clear. For several ages or revolutions of times have their several manners of expressions, specially for quoting of scriptures or deciphering of numbers. And sometimes latter ages agree better in this point with the most ancient than middle ages do. The determination of this particular, as whether in St. John's time numbers were expressed at large, or in figures, I refer to professed antiquaries.

2. But admitting that St. John did write expressly *about the sixth hour*, (not in figures,) many learned men, of several churches and religions, have wittily attempted to salve the appearance of contradiction betwixt him and St. Mark, by reducing the manner of measuring the day unto the scale or manner of measuring the night, which they divide into four parts or watches, every watch containing three hours according to the
923 sundial; so as the first great hour answerable to the watch by night did begin at six in the morning and continue till nine, which with them was called the third hour; and this third hour answerable to the second watch of the night, containing likewise three diurnal hours, did continue until the midday, or twelve of the clock, at which time their sixth hour did commence, and continue till their ninth hour, which is our three o'clock in the afternoon, at which time it is without question that our Saviour did yield up the ghost. So that when St. Mark saith, our Saviour was crucified at *the third hour*, that is, about nine o'clock in the forenoon, and before twelve, which was the sixth hour; and when St. John saith he was sentenced to death by Pilate *about the sixth hour*, we must take his meaning to be thus, that he

was so sentenced as long before the sixth hour, which is our twelve o'clock, as after the third hour, which is our nine. So that the precise time of his crucifying should be about half-an-hour after ten of the clock. For if we admit or allow the former scale of dividing the day into the first, third, sixth, and ninth hour, it might as truly be said, our Saviour was crucified about the sixth hour, as about the third hour, if he were crucified at half-an-hour after ten. For so some collegiate statutes which enjoin the shutting of their gates at eight in winter and nine in summer, and opening them about six in winter and five in summer, have been by legal and authorized construction adjudged to be rightly observed, so they were shut within half-an-hour after eight in winter, or half-an-hour after nine in summer; or opened half-an-hour after six in winter, and half-an-hour after five in summer. So that such as approve the former reconciliation of St. Mark and St. John, did very cautiously pitch upon the point of time mentioned, that is, half-an-hour after ten in the morning for the crucifying of our Saviour, or for the point of time wherein Pilate did sentence him to death: for this was the just middle point between the third hour and the sixth hour, and did equally refer to both. This reconciliation of the two evangelists would have better satisfied me, if the authors or followers of it had not attempted to have given a reason for it, which I can no way approve, but rather suspect the opinion itself for the improbability of the reason alleged by them.

3. The reason which Maldonate (a man free enough to admit misnomers or mistakes in transcribers of the Gospel) allegeth for his opinion, that our Saviour was not crucified precisely at the third hour (as St. Mark saith), is, because in his judgment so many businesses

or debatements as did interpose in that morning wherein our Saviour was sentenced unto the death of the cross, could not be dispatched before the third hour, that is, nine o'clock in the forenoon. But in my opinion, (which I submit to better judgments,) more businesses by many than the evangelists relate might have been determined, according to the course of civil justice, (especially before such as examine them *summarie et de plano*,) within less time than St. Mark and the other evangelists allot to the examination, arraignment, and adjudication of our Saviour to the death of the cross. *Ut primum exortus est dies: As soon as it was day,* (saith St. Luke,) *the elders of the people and the chief priests and scribes came together, and led him to their council,* &c. Luke xxii. 66. The time then of their assembly to examine him (albeit we account the beginning of the day only from the sunrising, not from the dawning) was at six o'clock in the morning, if not before. *And after they*
924 *had examined him, the whole multitude of them arose, and led him unto Pilate, and began to accuse him.* Luke xxiii. 1. And this in all probability was before their second hour, or seven o'clock with us in the morning. Now the time of our Saviour's circuiting from Pilate to Herod, and back again, and all the debatements betwixt Pilate and the Jews, which are related by the evangelists, could not in that tumultuous congregation take up more time than an hour and an half. So that our Saviour might not only be sentenced to death by Pilate, (as St. John relates,) but actually crucified, or lifted up upon the cross precisely and punctually at the third hour, as St. Mark's words import.

4. If we thus reconcile St. John (or rather the transcribers of his Gospel) unto St. Mark and his

Gospel, as in all copies now it is extant; the harmony between the type and the antitype, or the proportion between the picture and the live substance represented by it, will be most exact. For we are to consider that the Son of God, by the sacrifice of himself once for all, was to accomplish, not only the anniversary sacrifices of atonement, of the passover, &c., but the continual daily morning and evening sacrifices. The hour allotted for the morning sacrifice was the third hour, or nine o'clock in the forenoon; the hour appointed and accustomed for the evening sacrifice, was the ninth hour, or three o'clock in the afternoon; and at this hour (as the evangelists jointly record) our Lord Redeemer did accomplish his sacrifice. *Jesus*, saith St. Matthew, *when he had cried again with a loud voice*, (and that was about the ninth hour,) *yielded up the ghost. Et ecce aulæum templi fissum est: And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom*, chap. xxvii. 46, 50, 51. One special importance of the word *ecce* in this place, as in many others, is the present exhibition of that which was promised or portended. The mystery foreshadowed or portended by the anniversary sacrifices of the paschal lamb—by the daily morning and evening sacrifices—by those sacrifices of the atonement, whose blood was brought by the high priest unto the sanctuary—was in brief this, that all these rites or solemnities should expire upon the death or sacrifice of the true Lamb of God: and thus much and more is sealed unto us by that speech of our Saviour a little before his death, *Consummatum est: All is finished*, John xix. 30. Now the rending of the veil immediately after our Saviour had commended his spirit into his Father's hands, did betoken *that now*, and not before, the entrance or passage into that most holy place, which was prefigured by the material

sanctum sanctorum, was set open, not to priests only, but to all true believers; that the celestial sanctuary (whether that be *cœlum empyræum*, "the seat of our future bliss," or some other place) was now instantly to be hallowed, or consecrated, by the blood of the High Priest himself, as the terrene tabernacle or sanctuary was by the legal high priest with the blood of bullocks or goats, &c.

5. Whithersoever the soul of this our High Priest went that day wherein he offered the sacrifice of himself, (as whether into the nethermost hell, or into the place where the souls of the righteous men did rest,) there is or should be no question among good Christians but that he was that evening in paradise. For so had he promised unto the penitent malefactor who was crucified with him, with an asseveration equivalent to an oath: *Amen dico tibi, Hodie mecum eris in paradiso: Verily I say unto thee, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise.* As for those sophis-
925 tical novelists, (to say no worse,) who thus mispoint the words of his promise, *Amen dico tibi hodie, Mecum eris in paradiso: Verily I say unto thee this day, Thou shalt be with me in paradise;* to wit, sometime hereafter, as at the general resurrection of the just, (though not this very day;) they declare themselves to be in this particular, as in most others, more unfit to interpret sacred oracles, than apes to be principal actors in stately doleful tragedies. For our Lord and Saviour did most graciously grant this poor soul more than he durst petition for, and with better expedition than he could hope for; to wit, a present estate of blessedness; whereas he requested only to be remembered with some mercy or favour, without indenting any point of time (after our Saviour had entered into his kingdom). And his entrance into that kingdom

was not upon the same day wherein he suffered, nor within forty days after. The kingdom of heaven was not set open to any believers, not to Abraham himself, upon our Saviour's passion or resurrection, whether that kingdom import the same place wherein Abraham before that time was, or some other. For it is one thing to say that the souls of righteous men deceased were in heaven before our Saviour ascending thither; another to say they were in the kingdom of heaven, or citizens of that kingdom, which upon the day of our Saviour's victory over death was not erected. And he who denieth the souls of the patriarchs to be partakers of the kingdom of heaven before our Saviour's death, cannot be concluded to grant that they were either in limbo, or in any other region under the earth or under the stars.

6. But to wave further dispute about this point for the present: our Saviour's soul upon the same day wherein he died was in paradise; and so was the soul of the penitent malefactor, yet not at the same instant, (perhaps not within the compass of the same hour wherein our Saviour's soul went thither,) in what region soever, whether of heaven or earth, this paradise was seated. For it is evident out of the evangelical histories, that our Saviour did surrender his soul into his Father's hand before either of them who were crucified with him did expire. For, as was before recited out of St. Matthew xxvii. 50, immediately upon the ninth hour our Saviour yielded up the ghost. This testimony alone, or this at least with the like, Mark xv. 37, had been sufficient to prove the article of our Saviour's death. But for the more full satisfaction of all posterity, as well of Jews as of Gentiles, God would have the death of his only Son to be remarkably recorded by the solemn testimony of the

Roman centurion, taken upon examination before Pilate: *And now when the even was come,* (that, I take it, was betwixt five and six of the clock,) *because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath, Joseph of Arimathæa, an honourable counsellor, which also waited for the kingdom of God, came, and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of* JESUS. *And Pilate marvelled if he were already dead: and calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether he had been any while dead. And when he knew it of the centurion, he gave the body to Joseph.* Mark xv. 42, 43, &c. That our Saviour died before the other which were crucified with him, is more apparent from the parallel testimony of St. John xix. 31, 32, &c.: *The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the sabbath day, (for that sabbath day was an high day,) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away. Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the first, and of the other which was*
926 *crucified with him. But when they came to* JESUS, *and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs.*

7. And thus we may observe, that as well the malignant Jews, as Christ's disciples of the Jewish nation, and the Roman soldiers, though unwittingly, did strangely combine for the accomplishment of divers prophecies or prefigurations concerning the death of the Son of God. Had he not died before the other two which were crucified with him, his legs had been broken with theirs, and his body had not been interred before the setting of the sun, as is probable from Pilate's demand to the centurion, *whether he had been any while dead,* before he would give Joseph leave to

bury his body. Now if his body had not been interred before the sunset, or at least before the stars appeared, the mystery prefigured by the imprisonment of Jonas three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, could not by any synecdoche have been exactly fulfilled by his blessed rest in the grave: but of this hereafter. Again, if the breaking of his legs had not been prevented by his dying before the other two which were crucified with him, the harmony betwixt the manner of his death and the death of the paschal lamb could not have been so exact: *for no bone of it was to be broken,* Exod. xii. 46. Numb. ix. 12. Nor should that which David spake of himself, (but of himself as he was the type of Christ,) when he was in some peril of breaking his legs or arms, or some better joints, have found its accomplishment in the circumstance of our Saviour's death. *These things were done,* saith St. John, *that the scripture might be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken.* John xix. 36. This allegation of St. John (if my observation fail not) refers as literally and properly to that saying of David, psalm xxxiv. 20, (when he was driven by Saul into the cave of Adullam,) as unto the rite of the paschal lamb before cited: *He keepeth all his bones: not one of them is broken.* This was not a mere historical narration, but a speech typically prophetical, that is, first verified of David, and afterwards to be more exactly accomplished in the Son of David. Of the same rank was that which followeth: *Evil shall slay the wicked: and they that hate the righteous shall be desolate. The Lord redeemeth the soul of his servants: and none of them that trust in him shall be desolate.* vv. 21, 22. The truth of this observation was never so punctually proved or exemplified, as in the death of the two malefactors which were crucified with our

Saviour. Though neither of them had any interest in the former promise, *He keepeth all his bones: not one of them is broken;* yet the soul of the one who trusted in the Lord was instantly redeemed and taken up into paradise by him: the soul of the other, which did hate and revile him, was (to say no worse) left desolate.

8. Again, the law concerning the taking down of such as were hanged on a tree (though not strangled) before the night went over them, had not been accomplished in our Saviour, unless the day wherein he died had been the preparation to the great sabbath. For it was not the zeal of the Jews unto the due observation of this law, but fear of polluting this great sabbath, which moved them to become petitioners unto Pilate, that the bodies of all that were then crucified might be taken down and carried away before the beginning of the sabbath, which was in the twilight following. The law, which out of this fear they occasioned to be observed and fulfilled, is extant, Deut. xxi. 22, 23: *And* 927 *if a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be to be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree: his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day; (for he that is hanged is accursed of God;) that thy land be not defiled which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.* That this law had a special reference or preaspect unto our Saviour's death upon the cross, St. Paul hath taught us, Gal. iii. 13: *Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.* Lastly, however the centurion and the soldiers apprehended no necessity of breaking our Saviour's legs, as being persuaded that he had been a good while dead, and fit to be buried; yet one of them,

to make all (as we say) sure, pierced his side while he was yet hanging upon the cross with a spear, striking him (as by the posture of his body is probable) under the short ribs through his very heart: otherwise he might have broken one or more of his bones. And this, as St. John instructs us, was done, *that another scripture might be fulfilled, And they shall look on him whom they have pierced,* John xix. 37. The prophecy which by this accident was exactly fulfilled we have Zechariah xii. 8, 9, &c.: *In that day shall the Lord defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and he that is feeble among them at that day shall be as David; and the house of David shall be as God, as the angel of the Lord before them. And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will seek to destroy all the nations that come against Jerusalem. And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications: and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son,* &c.

9. This sacred passage lieth punctually under that line or rule for interpreting sacred oracles which in these commentaries hath been oft heretofore mentioned; that is, it is a passage which cannot be literally verified of any person besides God himself, nor could it have been fulfilled in God himself otherwise than as he was incarnate, made subject to death, and violent percussion after death. But whether this passage, either according to the literal sense of the prophet, or to the intention of St. John in avouching the fulfilling of it, amount to any more than hath been said, or (in particular) to infer that real communication of properties between the divine and human nature of Christ, which some of the most learned in the Lutheran

church would from this place (in special) press upon us, is a disquisition more proper to the article of the Holy Catholic Church, than to this treatise of the Humiliation of the Son of God. That humiliation (as I conceive) did expire with his death; or at least when he was taken down from the cross, after his sacred sides had been so pierced, as St. John relates, by that rude Roman soldier, whose name by unwritten tradition was Longius, but a name (as I suppose) mistaken for the weapon wherewith he pierced him, which was λόγχη.

928 *The Conclusion of this Treatise.*

IT followeth in the Apostles' Creed that 'he was buried,' that 'he descended into hell.' In what sense soever we take this word *buried*, the historical truth of it is most punctually recorded by the evangelists. The only query which this article, or this part of the article, will admit, is, whether by his burial we are to understand the interring or depositure of his body in the monument; or rather his embalming by Joseph or Nicodemus, who did accomplish that work which the good woman before his death did foresignify or begin, by pouring out that precious ointment on his head. This query hath been long ago proposed by some learned men in the French[k] and German churches, who seem to deny the local descension of his soul into hell, either into the place of the damned or into *limbum patrum*. But this truth they have denied or questioned with better moderation and discretion, than such of our native English as either have questioned or opposed our church's meaning in this article. For

[k] Vide Petrum Ramum in Commentariis de Fide capite 130. de Christi sepultura. Et Tremellium in editione Syriaci Testamenti.

by his descending into hell, these men would have us understand the interring or depositure of his body in the monument or sepulchre wherein no man had been laid before, being before embalmed, *as the manner of the Jews was to bury*, John xix. 40. But for pleading one way or other of Christ's descension into hell, at this time or in this place, I have excluded myself in the general division of this and the ensuing treatise, which was concerning the humiliation and exaltation of the Son of God[1]. Now unto whether member of this dichotomy or general division, the burial, interring, or descension of the Son of God into hell should be referred, I am not as yet resolved by any catholic consent: but in my private opinion, I think rather to the exaltation or consecration of the Son of God to his everlasting priesthood. And unto this treatise, principally intended by me in these long Commentaries upon the Apostles' Creed, I must crave pardon to refer all those other modern controversies concerning the extent of our Saviour's sufferings—" for whom he died; for whom he rose again; whether the redemption purchased by his blood was universal to all mankind, or to the elect or predestinated only; or (seeing *redemption* is a term importing matter divisible) what part of redemption purchased by Christ was common to Adam, and all that came after him; what part more proper to such as under the law were circumcised, or in the time of the gospel baptized; what part of the same redemption is peculiar to the elect or predestinate."

In the mean time I conclude this treatise concerning the Humiliation of the Son of God with that excellent prayer for the peace of the church first conceived in

[1] See the second page of this treatise.

Latin by Erasmus, and afterwards set forth A. D. MDXLV, both in Latin and English, as a part or appendix of that Primer or Liturgy which king Henry the Eighth caused to be published by the supreme authority of the Church of England, with divers other godly prayers, yet retained as appurtenances, if not as genuine parts of our communion book. Why this prayer for the peace of the church should be left out, I suppose the moderate and devout reader will wonder with me.

929 *Domine Jesu Christe, qui omnipotentia tua fecisti omnes creaturas, visibiles, invisibiles, et divina sapientia tua gubernasti disposuistique omnia ordinate, qui ineffabili bonitate tua custodis, defendis, promovesque omnia, qui profunda misericordia tua reficis ruinosa, renovas collapsa, vivificas mortuos: digneris (precamur) ad extremum, in dilectam sponsam tuam ecclesiam, dulcem illum et misericordem vultum tuum quo cœlestia omnia terrestriaque, et quæ supra cœlum infraque terram sunt pacificas, conjicere: digneris teneros misericordesque oculos in nos convertere, quibus Petrum semel, magnum ecclesiæ tuæ pastorem aspexisti, et continuo rediit secum in memoriam, et pœnitentiam ductus est; quibus dispersam semel multitudinem perlustrasti, et misericordia commovebaris, quod boni pastoris defectu errabant quasi oves sparsæ palantesque. Tu satis vides, bone Pastor, quot varia luporum genera in ovilia tua irruperunt, e quibus unusquisque clamat, Hic Christus est, hic Christus est: ita ut, si fieri posset, in errores deducerentur electi. Tu vides quibus flatibus, quibus fluctibus, quibus tempestatibus misera navis jactatur, in qua pusillus grex tuus de submersione pericli-*

tatur. Quid autem nunc restat, nisi ut prorsum submergatur, omnesque nos pereamus? Hujus tempestatis causa est nostra iniquitas et depravata vita; hoc nos videmus et confitemur, justitiam tuam cernimus, et injustitiam nostram lamentamur: sed ad misericordiam tuam provocamus quæ (secundum psalmum prophetæ tui) exuperat omnia opera tua: multa supplicia sustinuimus, multis bellis fracti, multis jacturis bonorum consumpti, tot morborum pes- 930
tiumque generibus flagellati, tot fluctibus quassati, tot perterrefacti; et nullus tamen nobis ita fatigatis, et inusitata malorum vi debilitatis, portus perfugiumque apparet, sed quotidie magis magisque graves pluresque pœnæ imminere cervicibus nostris videntur. Non hic de tua asperitate conquerimur, misericordissime Domine, sed tuam potius misericordiam intuemur, quod longe graviores plagas commeriti sumus. Nos vero abs te, misericordissime Domine precamur, non quid meritis nostris dignum sit consideres aut perpendas; sed potius quid deceat misericordiam tuam, sine qua ne angeli quidem in cœlo consistere possunt, nedum nos vasa luti infirma. Miserere nostri Redemptor noster, qui facillime exoraris, non quod nos misericordia tua digni sumus; sed hanc gloriam nomini tuo dato. Ne patiaris Judæos, Turcas, reliquosque qui vel non noverunt te vel gloriæ tuæ invident, perpetuo de nobis triumphare, et dicere; Ubi Deus, ubi Redemptor, ubi Servator, ubi Sponsus illorum est? Hæc contumeliosa verba et convitia in te Domine redundant, dum ex malis nostris bonitatem tuam existimant, nos derelinqui putant, quos emendari non cernunt. Cum semel in navigio dormires, et tempestas subito exorta minaretur mortem omnibus qui in navi erant, ad clamorem paucorum discipulorum excitabaris, et con-

tinuo fluctus quieverunt, ventus cessavit, tempestas in magnam tranquillitatem conversa est; aquæ mutæ Creatoris vocem agnoverunt. In hac autem longe graviore tempestate, in qua non paucorum hominum corpora in discrimen veniunt, sed innumerabiles animæ periclitant; ad vocem universæ ecclesiæ tuæ, Domine, precamur ut vigiles, quæ nunc in periculo submersionis est. Tot jam millia hominum clamitant, Domine, serva nos, perimus, tempestas hæc humanam potentiam superat, immo vero conatus eorum qui illi præsidium ferrent, in contrarium avertuntur. Quod hæc præstabit, solum verbum tuum est: verbo solum oris tui dicito, tempestas cessa, et confestim tranquillitas expetita apparebit. Quot millibus impiorum pepercisses, si in civitate Sodomæ vel decem inventi fuissent: nunc vero tot millibus hominum gloriam nominis tui amantium, et propter decorem domus tuæ gementum, non horum precibus adductus iram remittes, et consuetarum antiquarumque misericordiarum tuarum recordaberis? an non divina sapientia tua nostram stultitiam in gloriam tuam convertes? an non malorum improbitatem in ecclesiæ tuæ bonum commutabis? cum enim misericordia tua solet omnia sublevare, cum res nobis immedicabilis esse videtur: nec potentia aut sapientia humana corrigi potest. Tu solus res etiam inordinatissimas in ordinem adducis, qui solus author conservatorque pacis es. Tu antiquam confusionem quam Chaos appellamus formavisti, in qua sine ordine, sine modo perturbate discordia semina rerum jacebant, et admirabili serie res natura sua pugnantes, vinculo perpetuo copulavisti et colligavisti. Quanto quæso, major confusio est hæc, ubi nulla charitas, nulla fides, nulla copulatio amoris, nulla legum, nulla magistratuum reverentia, nulla opinionum consensio, sed quasi in per-

turbatissimo choro, unusquisque diversum canit. In cœlestibus planetis nulla est dissensio, elementa suas sedes tenent, unumquodque constitutum sibi officium facit: et sponsam tuam cujus causa omnia facta sunt, continua sic dissensione perire et labefactari permittis? Malosne spiritus seditionis authores at- 932
que administros, in ditione tua sine ulla reprehensione ita regnare permittes? potentemne illum iniquitatis ducem, quem semel dejeceras, castra invadere et milites tuos spoliare sines? Cum hic in hominibus versabaris, vocem tuam fugiebant dæmones. Emitte quæsumus Domine, Spiritum tuum qui e pectoribus omnium nomen tuum profitentium, malos spiritus, magistros intemperantiæ, avaritiæ, vanæ gloriæ, libidinum, scelerum, discordiæ abigat. Crea in nobis, Rex, et Deus noster, cor mundum, et Spiritum sanctum tuum in pectoribus nostris renova, nec Spiritum sanctum tuum auferas a nobis. Restitue nobis fructum salutaris sanitatis tuæ, et Spiritu principali corrobora sponsam, pastoresque ejus. Hoc Spiritu reconciliasti cœlestia terrestribus, hoc formasti ac reduxisti tot linguas, tot nationes, tam diversa hominum genera in unum corpus ecclesiæ, quod corpus eodem Spiritu copulatur capiti. Hunc Spiritum si in omnium hominum cordibus renovare digneris, tum externæ hæ quoque miseriæ cessabunt: aut si non cessaverint, ad fructum saltem, utilitatemque diligentium te traducentur. Siste hanc Domine Jesu, confusionem; hoc horribile chaos in ordinem adducito: expande Spiritum tuum super aquas male fluctuantium opinionum. Et quia Spiritus tuus, qui juxta prophetæ sententiam continet omnia, scientiam etiam habet vocis: effice ut quemadmodum omnibus qui in domo tua sunt, unum lumen, unus baptismus, unus Deus, una spes, unus Spiritus; sic unam quoque habeant vocem, unam cantilenam,

unum sonum, unam catholicam veritatem profitentes. Cum in cœlum gloriose ascendisti, demisisti de cœlo res preciosissimas; dedisti dona hominibus, varia munera Spiritus divisisti: renova Domine de cœlo veterem
933 *bonitatem, da nunc ecclesiæ labefactatæ et inclinatæ, quod illi emergenti, et exorienti initio dederas. Da principibus magistratibusque gratiam timoris tui: ut ita rempublicam suam gubernent, quasi statim tibi Regi regum rationem reddituri. Da sapientiam semper assistricem illis, ut quodcunque optimum factu fuerit, et animo provideant, et factis persequantur. Da episcopis tuis donum prophetiæ, ut sanctas scripturas non ex suis ingeniis, sed tua inspiratione declarent et interpretentur. Da triplicem illis charitatem, quam a Petro requirebas, quando illius curæ oves tuas commisisti. Da sacerdotibus tuis temperantiæ, castitatisque amorem. Da populo tuo studium sequendi mandata tua, et promptitudinem obediendi iis, quos tu super illos constituisti. Ita fiet, ut si largitate tua principes ea imperent, quæ tu præcipis; pastores eadem doceant, populus utrisque pareat: veteris ecclesiæ dignitas, tranquillitasque cum ordinis conservatione ad gloriam nominis tui reflorescat. Ninivitis pepercisti morti addictis, statim ut ad pœnitentiam conversi fuerant: et domum tuam inclinantem jam et corruentem despicies, quæ vice sacci gemitus, vice cinerum lachrymas profundit? promisisti remissionem conversis ad te: at hoc donum tuum est, ut quis cum toto corde suo ad te convertatur, ut omnis bonitas nostra ad gloriam tuam redundet. Tu Factor es, refice opus tuum quod formasti. Tu Redemptor es, serva quod emisti. Tu Servator es, ne sinas perire qui tibi innituntur. Tu Dominus es et Possessor, vendica possessionem tuam. Tu Caput es, opem fer membris. Tu Rex es, da nobis legum tuarum reverentiam.*

Tu Princeps pacis es, aspira nobis fraternam chari- 934
tatem. Tu Deus miserere supplicum tuorum, sis (ut beatus Paulus loquitur) omnia in omnibus, ut universus ecclesiæ tuæ chorus consentientibus animis et vocibus consonantibus gratias de misericordia inventa agant Patri, Filio, et Spiritui sancto, qui pro perfectissimo concordiæ exemplo personarum proprietate distinguuntur et conjunctione naturæ adunantur, quibus laus, et gloria ad omnem æternitatem. Amen.

" Lord Jesus Christ, which of thine almightiness 929
madest all creatures both visible and invisible; which of thy godly wisdom governest and settest all things in most goodly order; which of thine unspeakable goodness keepest, defendest, and furtherest all things; which of thy deep mercy restorest the decayed, renewest the fallen, raisest the dead; vouchsafe, we pray thee, at last to cast down thy countenance upon thy well-beloved spouse the church; but let it be that amiable and merciful countenance wherewith thou pacifiest all things in heaven, in earth, and whatsoever is above heaven and under the earth; vouchsafe to cast upon us those tender and pitiful eyes with which thou didst once behold Peter, that great shepherd of thy church, and forthwith he remembered himself and repented; with which eyes thou once didst view the scattered multitude, and wert moved with compassion, that for lack of a good shepherd they wandered as a sheep dispersed and strayed asunder. Thou seest, O good Shepherd, what sundry sorts of wolves have broken into thy sheepcotes, of whom every one crieth, Here is Christ, here is Christ: so that, if it were possible, the very perfect persons should be brought into error. Thou seest with what winds, with what waves, with what storms thy silly ship is tossed, thy

ship wherein thy little flock is in peril to be drowned. And what is now left, but that it utterly sink, and we all perish. Of this tempest and storm we may thank our own wickedness and sinful living; we espy it well, and confess it; we espy thy righteousness, and we bewail our unrighteousness: but we appeal to thy mercy, which (according to the psalm of thy prophet) surmounteth all thy works: we have now suffered much punishment, being soused with so many wars, consumed with such losses of goods, scourged with so many sorts of diseases and pestilences, shaken with so many floods, feared with so many strange sights from heaven, and yet appear there nowhere any haven or port unto us, being thus tired and forlorn among so strange evils, but still every day more grievous punishments, and more seem to hang over our heads. We complain not of thy sharpness, most tender Saviour, but we espy here also thy mercy, forasmuch as much grievouser plagues we have deserved. But, O most merciful Jesu, we beseech thee that thou wilt not consider ne weigh what is due for our deservings, but rather what becometh thy mercy, without which, neither the angels in heaven can stand sure before thee, much less we silly vessels of clay. Have mercy on us, O Redeemer, which art easy to be intreated, not that we be worthy of thy mercy, but give thou this glory unto thine own name. Suffer not that the Jews, Turks, and the rest of the painims, which either have not known thee, or do envy thy glory, should continually triumph over us, and say, Where is their God, where is their Redeemer, where is their Saviour, where is their Bridegroom, that they thus boast on? These opprobrious words and upbraidings redound unto thee, O Lord, while by our evils men weigh and esteem thy goodness: they think we be forsaken, whom they see not amended.

Once when thou sleptest in the ship, and a tempest suddenly arising threatened death to all in the ship, thou awokest at the outcry of a few disciples, and straightway at thine almighty word the waters couched, the winds fell, the storm was suddenly turned into a great calm: the dumb waters know their Maker's voice. Now in this far greater tempest, wherein not a few men's bodies be in danger, but innumerable souls, we beseech thee at the cry of thy holy church, which is in danger of drowning, that thou wilt awake. So many thousands of men do cry, Lord, save us, we perish! the tempest is past man's 931
power; yea, we see that the endeavours of them that would help it do turn clean a contrary way. It is thy word that must do the deed, Lord Jesu. Only say thou with a word of thy mouth, Cease, O tempest! and forthwith shall the desired calm appear. Thou wouldst have spared so many thousands of most wicked men, if in the city of Sodom had been found but ten good men. Now here be so many thousands of men, which love the glory of thy name, which sigh for the beauty of thy house, and wilt thou not at these men's prayers let go thine anger, and remember thine accustomed and old mercies? Shalt thou not with thy heavenly policy turn our folly into thy glory? Shalt thou not turn the wicked men's evils into thy church's good? For thy mercy is wont then most of all to succour, when the thing is with us past remedy, and neither the might nor wisdom of men can help it. Thou alone bringest things that be never so out of order into order again: which art the only author and maintainer of peace. Thou framedst that old confusion, which we call chaos, wherein without order, without fashion, confusely lay the discordant seeds of things, and with a wonderful order the things that

of nature fought together thou didst ally and knit in a perpetual band. But how much greater confusion is this, where is no charity, no fidelity, no bonds of love, no reverence, neither of laws nor yet of rulers; no agreement of opinions, but as it were in a misordered quire, every man singeth a contrary note. Among the heavenly planets is no dissension, all four elements keep their place, every one do their office whereunto they be appointed. And wilt thou suffer thy spouse, for whose sake all things were made, thus by con-
932 tinual discords to perish and go to rack? Shalt thou suffer the wicked spirits, which be authors and workers of discord, to bear such a swing in thy kingdom unchecked? Shalt thou suffer the strong captain of mischief, whom thou once overthrewest, again to invade thy tents, and to spoil thy soldiers? When thou wert here a man conversant amongst men, at thy voice fled the devils. Send forth, we beseech thee, O Lord, thy Spirit, which may drive away, out of the breasts of all them that profess thy name, the wicked spirits, masters of riot, of covetousness, of vainglory, of carnal lust, of mischief, and of discord. Create in us, O our God and King, a clean heart, and renew thy Holy Spirit in our breasts; pluck not from us thy Holy Ghost. Render unto us the joy of thy saving health, and with thy principal Spirit strengthen thy spouse and the herdmen thereof. By this Spirit thou reconciledst the earthly to the heavenly: by this thou didst frame and reduce so many tongues, so many nations, so many sundry sorts of men into one body of a church; which body by the same Spirit is knit to thee their head. This Spirit if thou wilt vouchsafe to renew in all men's hearts, then shall also these foreign miseries cease, or, if they cease not, at least they shall turn to the profit and avail of them which

love thee. Stay this confusion, set in order this horrible chaos, O Lord Jesu; let thy Spirit stretch out itself upon these waters of evil wavering opinions. And because thy Spirit, which, according to thy prophet's saying, containeth all things, hath also the science of speaking, make, that like as unto all them which be of thy house is all one light, one baptism, one God, one hope, one Spirit; so they may also have one voice, one note and song, professing one catholic truth. When thou didst mount up to heaven triumphantly, thou threwest out from above thy precious 933
things, thou gavest gifts amongst men, thou dealtest sundry rewards of thy Spirit. Renew again from above thy old bountifulness; give that thing to thy church now fainting and growing downward, that thou gavest unto her shooting up at her first beginning. Give unto princes and rulers the grace so to stand in awe of thee, that they so may guide the commonweal, as they should shortly render accompt unto thee that art the King of kings. Give wisdom to be always assistant unto them, that whatsoever is best to be done they may espy it in their mind, and pursue the same in their doings. Give to the bishops the gift of prophecy, that they may declare and interpret holy scripture, not of their own brain, but of thine inspiring. Give them the threefold charity which thou once demandedst of Peter what time thou didst betake unto him the charge of thy sheep. Give to the priests the love of soberness and of chastity. Give to thy people a good will to follow thy commandments, and a readiness to obey such persons as thou hast appointed over them. So shall it come to pass, if through thy gift thy princes shall command that thou requirest, if thy pastors and herdmen shall teach the same, and thy people obey them both, that the

old dignity and tranquillity of the church shall return again with a goodly order unto the glory of thy name. Thou sparedst the Ninevites appointed to be destroyed, as soon as they converted to repentance; and wilt thou despise thy house falling down at thy feet, which instead of sackcloth hath sighs, and instead of ashes tears? Thou promisedst forgiveness to such as turn unto thee, but this self thing is thy gift, a man to turn with his whole heart unto thee, to the intent all our goodness should redound unto thy glory. Thou art the Maker; repair the work that thou hast fashioned. Thou art the Redeemer; save that thou hast bought. Thou art the Saviour; suffer not them to perish which
934 do hang on thee. Thou art the Lord and Owner; challenge thy possession. Thou art the Head; help thy members. Thou art the King; give us a reverence of thy laws. Thou art the Prince of peace; breathe upon us brotherly love. Thou art the God; have pity on thy humble beseechers; be thou, according to Paul's saying, all things in all men, to the intent the whole quire of thy church, with agreeing minds and consonant voices, for mercy obtained at thy hands, may give thanks to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which after the most perfect example of concord be distincted in property of persons and one in nature, to whom be praise and glory eternally. Amen.

A TREATISE

OF THE

CONSECRATION OF THE SON OF GOD

TO HIS

EVERLASTING PRIESTHOOD,

AND THE

ACCOMPLISHMENT OF IT BY HIS GLORIOUS RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION:

BEING

THE NINTH BOOK

OF

COMMENTARIES UPON THE APOSTLES' CREED.

TO

THE ROYAL MAJESTY

OF OUR MOST GRACIOUS AND PIOUS SOVEREIGN

CHARLES,

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

THE only ends or scopes at which my desires in the first draught of this long work of Comments upon the Apostles' Creed did aim, were first and principally the glory of God, which is the supreme cause of causes, the main end of all other ends, intended by good men or angels: the second, subordinate to this, was to give satisfaction to my longing desires, of discharging my duty to the church my mother, by doing her such service as I was able, in setting forth the true worship of God, and in maintaining the faith professed by her: the third, subordinate to the second, but principally to the first, was to give an account unto my middle age how I had spent my youth, and to leave a *constat* unto my old age, (at which, by God's good providence, beyond my hope or expectation, I am now arrived,) that I had not altogether spent my best days in a drowsy sleep, or, which is worse, in waking dreams, or 938
wandering projects after pleasure, riches, ambitious hopes, or private ends. But being first called unto your Majesty's service in my declining years, I took the boldness upon me, about some five years ago, in supplement of my weak performances in my ordinary attendance, to dedicate these three books, concerning

the knowledge of Jesus Christ and of him crucified, unto your Highness, these being (to mine own apprehension) the best fruits of my best and flourishing years. The matter or subject of them will not (I take it) be denied by any to be the fittest theme for the meditations of all good Christians, according to their several capacities. And no subject under heaven can be either more profitable or more delightful for contemplative or stronger wits to work upon: unto whom, especially unto such of them as have better means or abilities than God hitherto hath blessed me withal, I leave to amend or finish what I have long ago begun, and thus far prosecuted. Full time it is for me, but no time (I hope) as yet overpast, to consecrate the rest of my labours unto deathbed learning and devotions, which is the best service that can be expected from me at these years, and which the elder I grow the better able I trust I shall be to perform, as having by long experience found myself to be then the strongest in this kind of exercise of mind and spirit, when I am in greatest weakness of body. Now of these my devotions and daily prayers unto God, a great part must be consecrated to this end, that he would vouchsafe to continue his gracious favours and mercies towards your royal person, and that the crowns of these kingdoms, whereof you are, next and immediately under him and his Christ, the supreme lord and governor, may long flourish upon your own head, and the heads of your posterity, that after this life ended he may invest you with a crown of endless glory.

Your Majesty's

most humbly devoted servant and chaplain,

THOMAS JACKSON.

IT was in my thoughts when this copy of my meditations upon the Consecration of the Son of God to his everlasting Priesthood was first licensed for the press, to have annexed unto it one or two sermons or short treatises of the like argument. But being called from my studies by urgent occasions before the impression of this ninth book of Commentaries upon the Creed was near finished, I am constrained to publish it in a lesser volume than I first intended it, though (I take it) in as many lines, or more words, than either of the two former books upon the same argument, to wit, the Knowledge of Christ and of him Crucified, do contain. The matter is not great, and so much the less, because I have ready (*in adversariis*) divers sermons, or short treatises, as appendices or appertenances to all these three books respectively, and to another entitled Christ's Answer to John's Disciples, or, an Introduction to the Knowledge of Christ, &c., to be published as soon as God shall be pleased to grant me ability and opportunity. Other three books I have in like readiness for the press, to wit, the tenth book of Comments upon the Creed, or, a Treatise of the Natural Man's Servitude to Sin, and of that poor remnant of free will which is left in the sons of Adam before they be regenerated in Christ by the Spirit; together with directions for the right use or employment of free will after our baptism, for the accomplishment, or rather for performance of the

conditions on our parts required, that mortification may be accomplished in us by the Spirit of God. The next of the three books promised is the eleventh book of these Commentaries, containing a treatise upon the articles of Christ's coming to judgment, of the resurrection of the dead, and of the life everlasting, which is the final sentence which at his coming to judgment shall pass upon all men, as well upon them which have been long dead, as those that shall be found alive at his coming. The last book of these Comments contains the second part of a treatise heretofore begun, and in part published, concerning the articles of the holy catholic church, of the communion of saints, and the forgiveness of sins. What I here promise, or may occasion the readers, especially young students in divinity, to expect, shall by God's assistance be shortly or in good time performed, either by myself or by my executors; unto whose disposals I am not likely to leave much, scarce any thing else besides books and papers.

Thine ever in Christ Jesu,

THOMAS JACKSON.

THE CONSECRATION OF THE SON OF GOD;

OR,

THE NINTH BOOK

OF

COMMENTARIES UPON THE APOSTLES' CREED.

1. WANT sometimes of skill, sometimes of industry, oftentimes of both, to sound the mysteries, or discuss the general maxims contained in sacred scriptures aright, hath been one special occasion, as of breeding, so of nursing and continuing endless quarrels amongst the chief professors of peace, students, I mean, or graduates in theology. Now for composing the most or greatest controversies which for these late years have disturbed the peace of Christ's church militant here on earth, no maxim in the whole book of God—which is the only fundamental and complete rule of faith and manners—is or can be of greater or better use than that of our apostle, Heb. v. 9: *And being made perfect, he became the author of everlasting salvation to all that obey him; being called a priest*, &c. The discussion whereof in a fuller measure, and (as I hope) in a more distinct manner than I have found it discussed by others, is the main end or scope of these present undertakings. The maxim itself, though brief, is the true scale or diametral line or rule, without whose knowledge or distinct survey first taken, neither

the full distance or disproportion, nor the parallel approaches or symmetral vicinities which many different opinions yet still in debate respectively hold or bear unto the infallible doctrine of salvation and life, will ever be fully discovered, much less clearly determined.

Besides this great and general use, if we could hit the punctual meaning of this place, or take a true
942 value of the very first word in this text τελειωθεὶς, we might with more facility clear that obscure and difficult place, Heb. xi. 40, and inform ourselves, first, what better thing it was which God had provided for the faithful in later ages in respect of former; and secondly, what the apostle there means by *being made perfect.* For in this *being made perfect* consisteth the betterhood of the faithful's estate in that time, in respect of Abraham's, the patriarchs', and the prophets'.

943 ## SECTION I.

Of Consecration, and of the Qualifications of those that were to be consecrated High Priests.

CHAP. I.

Of the true Value or Signification of the Word τελειωθεὶς, *or of* being made perfect.

WHATSOEVER good thing or perfection it was which the apostles or disciples of our Lord did obtain in this life, over and above all that which the patriarchs in their pilgrimages here on earth did attain unto, this was wholly from the *perfection* here men-

tioned in my text. Neither the patriarchs nor apostles were made *perfect* until the Son of God was made *perfect.* Their best perfection is but an effect or branch of his perfection, or of *his being made perfect.* That the patriarchs and apostles should be *made perfect* is not a thing strange, because they were but men, and therefore subject to many imperfections; but that the Son of God, who is perfection itself, should be made perfect, this may seem more than strange, a thing impossible; and we were bound to admit a solecism in the apostle's expression, if we were to weigh it only according to the grammatical signification of the original τελειωθεὶς, which, word for word, is neither more nor less than *to be made perfect.*

2. But many words there are in all the learned tongues, whose prime signification every ordinary grammar scholar may know whilst he reads them only in historians or rhetoricians. And yet the best grammarian living (so he be no more than a grammarian) may be altogether ignorant of their true meaning or importance, whilst they are used in legal or solemn instruments, or as terms of some special art or faculty. Every schoolboy knows the ordinary signification of *possum*, whilst he reads it in his grammar rules, or in such authors as he is acquainted with; and yet his master, (how good a grammarian soever,) unless he be a philosopher withal, shall hardly be able to render the true notion or expression of *potentia* in natural philosophy: and a natural philosopher may be sometimes as far to seek in the use of the same word *potentia*, or *potestas*, in the faculty of the civil law. Lastly, he that hath his senses exercised in all these faculties or sciences mentioned, would be a mere stranger to the notion of the same word in the mathematics; as unable to express what *posse* or *æquiposse*

imports in the science of geometry, as a mere rustic is to understand the terms of law. Such a word or term is this first word in my text, τελειωθείς. For it is more
944 than a word of art, *verbum solenne*, used by the LXX interpreters, to express the legal and formal consecration of Aaron, his sons, and their successors, to their priestly function. And in this sense it is to be taken in this place, and is so rendered in our former English, *And being consecrated, he was made the author of salvation.* And so is the very same word rendered by our later English, Heb. vii, and the last: *The word of the oath, which was since the law, maketh the Son priest, who is* τελειωθεὶς, *consecrated for evermore.* The authors of both translations (if so it had pleased them) might have given better content and satisfaction to their readers, if they had constantly so expressed the same word with its allies in most places of this epistle. That in this place the word τελειωθεὶς imports as much as we have said, that is, the formal and solemn consecration of the Son of God unto his everlasting priesthood, needs no further proof or declaration, than the matter or subject of his discourse from ver. 14. of chap. iv. unto ver. 11. of this chap. v. Now the only subject of his discourse, as well in these places now cited, as through the whole of chap. vii., is the consecration of the Son of God to his everlasting priesthood, and the superexcellency of the priesthood, as well as of the consecration to it, in respect of legal priesthoods or consecrations.

3. This is the profoundest mystery in divinity, or rather the main foundation of all evangelical mysteries treated of by our apostle unto the end of this epistle. But this profound mystery itself hath the same hap which other deep foundations have, that is, to be least seen or sought into by such as are otherwise

exact surveyors of superstructures or buildings raised aboveground.

The sum of my present search or survey after this great mystery is this; how the everlasting priesthood of the Son of God, and his consecration to it, were prefigured, foreshadowed, or foretold, either in the law or before the law.

Of the eternity of this our High Priest's person, (that is, the person of the Son of God,) Melchisedec, long before the law, was the most illustrious type or picture. So was his order, or sacerdotal function, the most exact shadow of the Son of God's everlasting priesthood.

Of the qualification of the Son of God for this everlasting priesthood, and of the manner of his consecration to it, Aaron and other legal priests his lawful successors, and the legal rites or manner of their consecration, were the most lively pictures.

First, Of the parallel between Aaron and his successors lawfully ordained, and the High Priest of our souls, for their qualifications required by the law of God, and by the law of nature.

Secondly, Of the parallel between Melchisedec and the Son of God, as well for their persons as for sacerdotal functions or exercises of them.

The parallel between Aaron and other priests of the law, and the Son of God, for their qualification to their different priesthoods, is (as was but now intimated) the subject of our apostle's discourse from the beginning of chapter v. unto verse 10. We are then in the first place to search out the true sense and meaning of our apostle, by tracing his steps from ver. 1. to ver. 9; secondly, to shew in what sense the Son of God, by his consecration, became the author of everlasting salvation to all that obey him, and to them only. For

so our apostle saith, *Being consecrated, he became the author* or *cause*, αἴτιος, *of everlasting salvation to all that obey him.*

945 CHAP. II.

Of the Separation of the High Priest from Men, and of the compassionate Temper which was the special Qualification of every High Priest. Heb. v. 2.

Every high priest is taken from among men; so that every high priest must be a man so *separate* or set apart from ordinary men for offering gifts or sacrifices unto God, as that which we call *consecrated* or *hallowed ground* is from common soil, or places of secular use or commerce. But albeit the priests of the law were by consecration separated from ordinary men, yet could they not be separated from their own sins, so long as they carried this body of death about them. *But such an High Priest* (saith our apostle, Heb. vii. 26.) *it behoved us to have, as is harmless, holy, and separated from sinners.* He was so separated from sinners, that he could take no infection from them or their sins, whilst he lived and conversed amongst them. Another special qualification, required in such as were appointed to the legal priesthood, we have verse the second of this fifth chapter: and that was, to be able sufficiently to have compassion on them that were ignorant and out of the way; and for this reason, though God be not the author of sin in any, yet he made an especial use of the sins whereunto legal priests were subject, to teach them thereby to be compassionate towards others: more compassionate than they would or could have been, if they had not been conscious of their own infirmities, and grievous offences against God, for which they were to offer sacrifices, as well as for the sins of the people.

And the more deeply they were touched with the consciousness of their own sins, or with God's displeasure which they had incurred by them, the more devoutly they prayed for the people, the more diligent and careful they were in their office of atonement for them. Every godly or considerate high priest did in every respect for the people as they desired God should do for them.

2. This *compassionate temper* in every high priest or chief spiritual governor required by the law of God, is so agreeable to the common notions of the law of nature, that the consonancy betwixt them did (if not first occasion) yet strengthen the world's opinion of Peter's supremacy over Christ's catholic church. A memorable instance to this purpose we have recorded by a late ingenious writer, of the life and facts of Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary, into whose presence an ambitious schoolman had long desired to be admitted; who, because he had learned to play fast and loose with Aquinas' or Scotus' distinctions, presumed he was able to dissolve any knot in divinity, and desired nothing more than to play his prizes before that witty king. Being after long importunate suit admitted into his presence, the first problem the generous king proposed unto him was this: 'Seeing St. Peter had thrice denied his Lord and Master, whereas St. John, who had never offended him, was never tainted with any crime, but continued still the disciple whom he loved; what was the reason why our Saviour Christ should make St. Peter head of his 946
church rather than St. John?' The juggler[a] perceiving

[a] Tunc Gattus iratus inquit, nolite mihi præfinire modum theologiæ, quem teneo: Nemo enim est tam temerarius, qui in theologicis se mecum conferre auderet. Nam nihil in hac divina scientia mihi est (ut puto) incognitum. Omnes enim biblio-

that he had brought the wrong box with him, requested the king not to meddle with God's secrets, but to propose some other controversed question to him. Upon the issue, the king resolved him that this was none of God's secrets, alleging the authority of St. Hierom as an introduction to his own collections, and this reason withal, 'That if our Saviour had made St. John head of the church, he would have been more severe and rigorous than those or other corrupt times would suffer, as being not conscious to himself of any gross enormity.' The same reason had been avouched long before by Eulogius, but censured by Photius[b], as relishing more of plausible fancy than of sound judgment. Yet in this fancy there was a spice of truth and reason; for St. Peter became more powerful in preaching the gospel to his brethren the Jews,

thecas percurri, et nunquam hujus dubitationis occurrit declaratio. Tunc rex Matthias ait ad Gattum: Non multos in theologia libros legi, nec etiam in aliis facultatibus. A puero enim ad regiam dignitatem evectus, pauca e multis didici, et militarem quodammodo literaturam arripui. Sed tamen hujus rei declaratio, ut opinor, facile invenietur. Gattus impatiens sermonem regium, interrumpens inquit: Deponite hanc mentem, quoniam, ut dixi nusquam est, &c. Si virgo Joannes et in fide firmus pontifex fuisset, cum ligandi solvendique potestate, nunquam libidinis blanditias vimque expertus, et qui nullo tumultu a Christo potuit dimoveri, ad sui similitudinem humanum genus confirmare percubuisset, et Christi fideique desertores, libidineque corruptos summa austeritate depulisset. Non enim ex fragilitate peccantes, sed ex animi nequitia homines putasset, qui fletibus dolorem fingerent. Summa igitur ratione factum est, ut Petrus Joanni in pontificatu præferretur: quod tu Johannes Gatte inter illa Dei judicia inscrutabilia connumerabas. Galeotus Martius de Dictis et Factis Matthiæ inter alios scriptor. Rerum Hungaricarum elegans. cap. 30. pag. 386, &c.

[b] Τοῦτο μὲν φησὶν ὁ Εὐλόγιος, πιθανώτερον μᾶλλον, ἢ ἀληθέστερον λέγων; and he gives a good reason for this sentence in the words following: Etsi enim Petro dictum est, veruntamen in persona coryphæi et cæteris apostolis talis potestas data est. Quandoquidem et sequentibus illos sacerdotibus, eandem datam esse solvendi ligandique potestatem credimus.—Photius ex lib. 2. Bibliotheca, columno 1599.

than any of Christ's other apostles, because he sympathized better with them, and was (no question) more compassionate and kind unto them than any of the other apostles were, or could have been.

3. But in offering gifts and sacrifices out of true compassion towards his people, in making intercession and atonement for them, our High Priest did and doth far exceed all legal priests, all other inferior spiritual governors: *In all things* (saith our apostle) *it became him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and a faithful High Priest in things concerning God, that he might make reconciliation for the sins of his people. For in that he suffered and was tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted*[c]. Heb. ii. 17, 18. All his sufferings and temptations were requisite for his qualification to his priestly function, which was to be merciful and compassionate towards sinners: more compassionate towards all sorts of sinners, than any one sinner could be either towards himself or others, because he had more full and deeper experience of the wages due to sin, than any sinners in this life can have. Hence, saith our apostle, in the words immediately preceding to these now in handling, *though he were the Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered.* As he was the Son of God he knew all things, could learn nothing; yet as the Son of man, or as man designed for our high priest, he had a sensible experience of the pains and punishments due to sin, and of the unknown terrors of the second death, which as he was God he could not have, and which as man, unless he had been the Son of God withal, he could not have borne. The obedience which he learned

[c] Of this point see more at large in the Third Book of these Commentaries upon the Creed, sect. 2. cap. 6.

by suffering (as was observed before) was passive, not active. And his unspeakable patience (even while he suffered these grievous and unknown pains and terrors) is mentioned by our apostle as a part of his qualification, Heb. v. 7: *In the days of his flesh he offered*
947 *up prayers and supplications by strong cries and tears unto him that was able to save him from death,* εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας.

CHAP. III.

What were those strong Cries which the Son of God did utter in the Days of his Flesh, how far his Prayers were heard, and from what Death and Danger he was delivered. Heb. v. 7.

MALDONATE, with some other good interpreters, refers these strong cries or loud exclamations unto that strong cry upon the cross, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* But thus they teach (with due respect unto their worth and learning I speak it) very impertinently and inconsiderately. For, first, that ejaculation of our Saviour upon the cross, though uttered with a loud voice or cry, bears rather the character of a complaint or expostulation, than of a humble prayer or supplication, (if we take it in the literal sense,) as if it had been extorted from the extremity of pain which he then suffered. The truth is, it was neither a prayer nor complaint, but *mera tessera*, a signal or watchword to his auditors or spectators to rally their tumultuous disordered thoughts. And if they had taken their former indignities done unto him on the cross, and his admirable patience in suffering them without murmur or complaint, into serious consideration, they might have discerned that this was the man, or promised Messias, whose sufferings the psalmist did describe, and by his own sufferings in

part represent. For our Saviour uttered not these words of the xxiind psalm, until all the other passages in the same psalm were ocularly exemplified and fulfilled in him.

2. Secondly, we never read, nor have we any occasion to suspect, but reasons pregnant to deny, that our Saviour did ever deprecate the death of the cross, or could be daunted with any indignities which the Jews could do unto him, either by word or fact, either by themselves or their associates. And for this reason, (as hath been observed before[d],) when Peter had advised him to be good to himself, not to expose his person to the malice of the Jews, he was dismissed with this severe check, *Get thee behind me, Satan, for thou art an offence unto me*, &c. Now Peter had been the more provident of the two, if his Master had uttered the former words either by way of prayer or complaint. Again, if our Saviour had been at any time daunted with the death of the cross, or had prayed for deliverance from this death, or any pains that did accompany it, his prayers or supplications had not been heard by him who was able to save him from death; seeing from this death he did not save him, but suffered or rather required him to taste of it to the full for all men. But it is evident that these *strong cries and exclamations uttered with tears*, mentioned by our apostle Heb. v. 7, were heard to the full. For so it is said, *He was heard in that which he feared.* So both our English translations read it: the later with this variation in the margin, *He was heard for his piety.* Neither expression is altogether untrue, yet neither of them full; or both put together not much *ad appositum*, little pertinent to our apostle's intent or meaning.

[d] In the Eighth Book of these Comments, chap. 12. par. 3. vol. vii. p. 472.

948 How then are they to be amended? By a more full explication of the several acceptions of the words in the original.

3. This latter word εὐλάβεια, rendered by *fear*, or *piety*, imports in its prime or proper signification as much as *a wary* or *cautelous fear*. And (if good interpreters do not fail us) it is always taken in the better sense, that is, as we say, for a *filial* or *pious*, not for a *base* or *servile fear*. Whence, seeing he only is pious or godly who is wary or circumspect not to offend God nor to wound his own conscience, the same word in the secondary or consequential sense doth signify *piety*, or *godliness*. But whether in one or both of these two compatible senses we take this word in this place, the construction which either the Vulgar Latin or our English makes of the whole original clause, εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας, *exauditus est ob reverentiam—he was heard in that he feared*, or *for his piety* or *reverence*—will be very harsh. For the Greek preposition ἀπὸ cannot by analogy either to the Greek or Hebrew be rendered by the Latin *ob* or *propter*; or as our English doth *in* or *for*; or *in that he feared*, or *for his piety*, or *reverent fear*. We are therefore to consider a twofold Hebraism in this passage; the one in the word εὐλαβείας, the other in the word εἰσακουσθείς. It is a general rule in the Hebrew dialect, that not only participles but noun substantives, or abstract forms, are as well passive as active. According to this analogy unto the Hebrew, the word *hope*, as well in the Greek as in the Latin, and many other like, are sometimes to be construed actively, sometimes passively: *spes qua speramus*, and *spes quæ speratur*. And so likewise, *promissio qua Deus promittit*, and *promissio quæ promittitur*: "This is the promise which he hath promised, even eternal life." And so is the

word *fear;* whether we take it in the worse or better sense, as for a natural or servile fear, or for a pious and religious fear, there is *timor quo timemus,* a fear by which we seek to eschew evil; and *timor qui timetur,* which is no other than the evil feared. Now the word εὐλαβείας must in this place of necessity be taken in the passive signification, not in the active, that is, *for the evil which our Saviour so much* or *so piously feared.* Again, inasmuch as God always delivers them from danger or dread whose prayers he hears, hence it is that to be *exauditus, truly heard of God in prayers and supplications,* is as much as to be delivered from the dread or danger which we pray against. So that εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας is in true English all one as if he had said, 'And he was delivered from that which he so *piously* or *mightily feared.*'

4. The apostle's words contain a full expression of the psalmist's speech, or rather a record of the fulfilling of his prophecy, psalm xxii. 21: *Save me from the lion's mouth: for thou hast heard,* that is, *thou hast delivered me from the horns of the unicorn.* God had delivered his Son (whose part in all his sufferings this psalmist did respectively act or represent) from the first temptation in the wilderness; and now he prays he would deliver him from this far greater temptation in the garden, (when the whole host of darkness had environed him,) *with strong cries and tears: Father, if it be possible let this cup pass from me!* And so St. Luke instructs us, *He was heard and delivered from that hour of temptation which he did so much dread.* For in the second pang of that bitter agony an angel was sent to comfort him, and within the space of an ordinary hour this cup, which was ten thousand times more bitter than the death of

the cross, or any pains which he suffered upon it, was
949 utterly removed from him. And after this hour was ended, we do not read, nor is there any circumstance in holy writ to induce so much as a conjecture, that he stood in fear of any evil that could befall him by the Jews or Roman soldiers, but most patiently (as our apostle speaks) *endured the cross and despised the shame.* Of what kind soever the pains which he suffered in the garden were, (a point in the former book discussed at large,) the suffering of them was neither necessary or requisite for making satisfaction to God the Father for the sins of the world: for such satisfaction was abundantly made by the mere death of the cross. Yet were these his unknown or unexperienced sufferings in the garden either necessary or most expedient for his qualification and consecration to his everlasting priesthood, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest, able to compassionate and succour all such as are in any kind tempted. Briefly, seeing one special part of his priesthood is to make intercession and supplication for us in all our distresses, it was in the wisdom of God expedient that he should have just occasion to offer up prayers and supplications with strong cries for himself. And inasmuch as these his supplications were heard of his Father, we have assurance that he will not cease to make intercession for us, until God grant us deliverance from temptations, so we pray unto him in such fear and reverence as he in his agony did unto his Father. He will in this case do for us as he desired his Father to do for him.

5. It seemeth the consecration of legal high priests, so long as they accurately observed the rites and manner prescribed by Moses, did one way or other cost them so dear, that no man which duly weighed

the charge laid upon them would be very ambitious of the office. Hence, saith our apostle, Heb. v. 4, *no man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron: so likewise Christ took not to himself this honour to be made an high priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*, put this charge or honour upon him; against his will questionless as man, albeit he most obediently submitted himself to his Father's will, because he had taken the form of a servant upon him. His consecration we may safely avouch cost him dearer than the consecration of all the legal priests that had been before him, or of all the Christian bishops or prelates which have lived since, did or doth them, whether severally or jointly. Never did any man utter those words so truly and sincerely, *Episcopari nolo*, as he did, or pray so earnestly that the charge of his consecration might be mitigated whilst he was in his agony. But how dear soever his consecration cost him, the costs and charges of it, though altogether unknown to us, were recompensed by the purchase which he gained by it: for, as it followeth, being thus *consecrated, he became the author of everlasting salvation to all that obey him;* and their salvation was and is as pleasant to him, as his sufferings whereby he was consecrated were for the present distasteful.

CHAP. IV. 950

The Consecration of the Son of God was not finished immediately after his Agony in the Garden, nor was he then, or at the Time of his Sufferings upon the Cross, an actual or complete High Priest after the Order of Melchisedec.

BUT was his consecration finished immediately after he had been anointed with his own blood in the garden,

or as soon as his prayers and supplications which he offered up with strong cries and tears were heard? No; whatsoever else was required for his qualification, there could be no true and perfect consecration to his priesthood without a sacrifice, without a bloody sacrifice. This was one principal part of Aaron's consecration to his legal priesthood, and so of his successors. But here the Jew, who is for the most part less learned than perverse and captious, will in this particular shrewdly object, if not thus insult over the negligence of many Christian teachers: "When your crucified God was convented by the high priests and elders—when he was arraigned before Pontius Pilate—when he was sentenced to the death of the cross; tell us plainly, whether in any of these points of time mentioned he were truly a priest or no priest? if no priest at all, what had he to do to offer any sacrifice, especially a bloody one?" For this was a service so peculiar to the legal priests, which were the sons of Aaron, that it was sacrilege for the sons of David, for the greatest kings of Judah, to attempt it. If you will say then he was a priest, you must acknowledge him either to have been a priest after the order of Melchisedec or after the order of Aaron: if you say he was a priest after the order of Aaron, you plainly contradict this apostle whom you acknowledge to be the great teacher of you Gentiles; for he saith, Hebrews vii. 14, *It is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood.* And again, chap. viii. 4, he saith, *He were not a priest if he were upon earth, seeing there are priests which according to the law offer gifts.* Now if he could be no priest were he now on earth, then certainly he could be no priest after the order of Aaron, nor did he offer any legal or bloody

sacrifice whilst he lived (as sometimes he did) upon earth.

2. Was he then whilst he lived here on earth a priest after the order of Melchisedec, and by this title authorized to offer sacrifice? This I presume you dare not avouch. For Melchisedec was a priest according to endless life; his priesthood was an immortal, everlasting priesthood. Now although every man be not an high priest, yet every high priest must be a man, and a man taken from amongst ordinary men, *to offer gifts and sacrifices for sin.* The priesthood is an accident; the humanity or manhood is the subject or substance which supports it. Dare you then say that a mortal man, whilst he was such, could possibly be an everlasting priest, or a priest according to an endless life, when he was to die a miserable and ignominious death the very same day? *Durum esset hoc affirmare!* This indeed is a hard saying, a point of doctrine whose intimation did cause the Jews, such as were in part our Saviour's disciples, or very inclinable to his service, to question the truth of his calling 951
and of his sayings, John xii. 32, &c.: *And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.* Now *this he said* (saith St. John) *signifying what death he should die,* to wit, the death of the cross. And so his auditors conceived his meaning, and for this reason *the people answered him, We have heard out of the law that the Christ abideth for ever: and how sayest thou, The Son of man must be lifted up? who is that Son of man?* ver. 34. This people at that time had a clear prenotion or received opinion, that their promised Messias, or the Christ, should be a priest after the order of Melchisedec, that is, a priest to endure for ever; for the Lord had confirmed thus much by oath, psalm cx. And out of this

common prenotion, whether first conceived out of that place of David, *The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec,* or from some other scripture, the people in the forecited place questioned whether it were possible he should be the Christ, seeing by his own confession he was shortly after to die the death of the cross.

3. These objections, I confess, could hardly be answered, if we should grant what many modern divines out of incogitancy have taught, or taken upon trust without further examination, to wit, that the eternal Son of God, our Lord and Saviour, was an high priest from eternity, or an high priest from his birth as man, or from his baptism, when he was anointed by the Holy Ghost unto his prophetical function, or whilst he was upon the cross. But not granting this, (as we have no reason to admit any branch of it,) the answer to the former objection is clear and easy: Betwixt a priest complete, or actually consecrated, and no priest at all, *datur medium participationis,* there is a mean or third estate or condition, to wit, a priest in *fieri,* though not in *facto,* or a priest *inter consecrandum,* that is, in the interims of his consecration, before he be actually and completely consecrated. Such a man, or rather such a priest, was Aaron, during the first six or seven days of his consecration, yet dare no Jew avouch, that after the first or second day of his separation from common men he was no more than an ordinary man, no priest at all, nor that on the seventh day he was a priest actually consecrated, but as yet in his consecration. He was not till the eighth day qualified to offer up sacrifices unto God, but had peculiar sacrifices offered for his consecration by Moses.

4. Briefly then, the sacrifice of the Son of God upon

the cross, whether we consider it as offered by himself or by his Father, (as it is sometimes said in scripture to be offered by both,) was the absolute accomplishment of all legal sacrifices or services Aaronical. And yet but an intermediate (though an especial) part of his consecration to the priesthood after the order of Melchisedec, not the *ultimum esse*, or accomplishment of it: it was not terminated till the day of his resurrection from the dead. But of this argument more at large, sect. 5, in the article of the Resurrection of the Son of God. That this eternal Son of God was not actually consecrated or made an high priest until his resurrection from the dead, our apostle, in the fifth verse of this chapter before cited to another purpose, fully instructs us. *Christ took not to himself this honour to be made the High Priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*, put it upon him. And *this day*, or this, *Ego hodie genui te*, (as this our apostle elsewhere instructs us,) refers unto the day of his resurrection, or begetting from the dead. After which day *death hath no more dominion over him*, but he such an absolute power over death and the powers of darkness, that neither can annoy or assault him. And from this day, and not before, doth his endless everlasting priesthood commence. And being thus actually consecrated by his resurrection from the dead, that is, made both Lord and Christ, he is become the Author of everlasting salvation; which was the second point. 952

CHAP. V.

That the Son of God by his Consecration being once accomplished became the Author and Fountain of everlasting Salvation to all such, and only such, as obey him. In what Sense he is said to have died for all men, or to be the Redeemer of all Mankind.

He became the Author of Salvation to all that obey Him.

THE signification of the single terms in this proposition is so plain, that it needs no paraphrase or explication, and the connexion of them so firm as requires no distinction. All the difficulty is about the limitation of the entire proposition itself; as, whether he be the Author or cause of everlasting salvation only to them which obey him, or unto all, to the end that they may obey him; or whether this proposition be equivalent, and but equivalent, unto this proposition, *Whosoever believeth in him shall be saved*, or a restraint of it! Surely if in all those places of the Old and New Testament wherein salvation is ascribed to *faith*, or unto *faith alone*, the apostles or prophets had substituted *obedience* instead of *faith*, there could have been no dangerous misnomer; for as the faith is, such is the obedience, and *e contra*. Both terms equally imply two (the same) things necessary to salvation: first, a submission of our wills to God's will, or a readiness to do his will revealed; secondly, when we have done as well as we can, to deny ourselves, and renounce all confidence in our best works, whether of faith or obedience. But however the terms be fully equivalent, yet the word *obedience* better befits this place than if he had said, *He became the Author of everlasting salvation to all*

that believe in him, because *obedience* is the very formal effect of true faith for belief, as they are set upon this particular truth or mystery here taught by our apostle; the ἀποσφράγισμα, or *impression,* or *the ingrossment* of the pattern here commended to our imitation. For if we sincerely and steadfastly believe that the Son of God became obedient to his Father, even unto the death of the cross; that for our sakes he was consecrated through grievous afflictions, through unknown pains and terrors, to the end he might be our faithful and compassionate High Priest; this doctrine itself being laid to our hearts, will bring forth the like affection or obedience towards him, specially if our faith be seconded by hope of being consecrated through obedience to be kings and priests with him unto our God; which is the full paraphrase 953
of our *everlasting salvation* here meant, the true expression of that *perfection* mentioned by our apostle, Heb. xi. 40.

But if the apostle's punctual meaning be, that the Son of God is the Author of everlasting salvation only to such as obey him, shall we not hence be concluded to grant, that he died only for such as finally shall be saved, or that he redeemed none but the elect, because the Author of salvation to none but these? Thus many in our days, and (which is more to be lamented) some of this church of England, have from the former premises collected and peremptorily taught that Christ died for none but the elect, without vouchsafing any mannerly answer to the church their mother, who expressly maintains the contradictory; as, that he died for all men; that he redeemed not only every one of us in particular, but all mankind: others have been so courteous as to vouchsafe their mother and brethren some distinctions or limitations of that universal

assertion; as thus, that he died for all, *sufficienter*, not *efficienter*, 'sufficiently,' not 'efficiently,' for all; that he redeemed all mankind with this limitation, that is, *genera singulorum*, some of all mankind, some rich, some poor, some Jews, some Gentiles.

The latter distinction is very dangerous; the former impertinently unnecessary: for if by *all mankind* we once come to understand some of all sorts of men, we shall commit no new error, but only extend the same, if by *the whole world* which God the Father is said to have created, we understand only some portion of every principal part of this universe, as some portion of the heavens, some of the stars, some part of the earth, some of the water, some part of the air, some of every sort of vegetable or living things, but not absolutely all. The other distinction of *sufficienter* and *efficienter* falls under the common error of most modern catechists or divines[a], which is, to take upon them to divide things which in their nature are indivisible, (as the will of God, the death of Christ, or the value of his sufferings,) and to leave other terms, which import matter divisible, undistinguished. Such is the term or word *redemption* passively taken, not as it is an act of God, or as it is in his *prescience:* for however the will of God, or the value of Christ's sufferings be altogether indivisible, because absolutely infinite, yet of redemption purchased for us by Christ's bloody death and passion there are (as you please to call them) several parts or degrees. Now that may be absolutely true of some one or more parts of degrees which is not true of all: the first degree of our

[a] If they had said Christ was the meritorious cause of salvation to all men, or had merited salvation for all, not the efficient working cause of salvation to all, but only to such as obey him faithfully, they had come nearer the truth.

redemption purchased by Christ was the payment of the ransom for our sins unto his Father, and our freedom from slavery by his conquest over Satan. This part or these degrees of redemption are alike common to all mankind: Christ, whether in his death upon the cross, or in his conflict with the powers of darkness in the garden, did suffer as much for any one as for all; God was in him reconciling all men unto himself; all were set free, *de jure*, from Satan's servitude.

The second part or degree of redemption is our actual admission into the catholic church, or (which is all one) our solemn calling to be the sons of God: and this part of redemption is common to all who are baptized according to Christ's commission, given to his apostles and their successors to this purpose. Another part of our redemption, whether that be altogether distinct from the former, or but a conse- 954
quent to it, is our actual exemption from the rage or tyranny of sin within ourselves whilst we live here in the flesh: and this degree of redemption is proper only to those who, though they live in the flesh, do not live according to the flesh, or the fashions of the world, as having their *hearts purified* by a lively faith in Christ's death. The last part, or final accomplishment of our redemption, is the exemption of both body and soul from the powers of hell and death by resurrection unto endless glory; which is the everlasting salvation here meant: and this is proper only unto such as finally shall be saved by continuance in faith and obedience. But let us not deceive ourselves, for God will not be mocked; and we shall but mock him if we presume to go to heaven by curious distinctions or nice doctrines, without a constant progress in sincere unpartial obedience. Nor will external conformity to orthodoxal rites or religion, or eye-

service, suffice to obtain the salvation here promised to such as obey him: or if we be addicted to eye-service or obedience, let us perform our obedience, not in our own eyes, or as in the eyes of sinful men, but as in the eyes and view of that ὁ Λόγος mentioned by our apostle, Heb. iv. 12, *in whose sight every creature is manifest, all things are open and naked.* This is that eternal Word, who is now made our High Priest, and shall hereafter come to be our Judge. Let us then account it a principal part of our present and future obedience, to pour out our souls in prayers and supplications to this our High Priest for the remission of all our sins past; and seeing he was consecrated once for all, through afflictions or sufferings, (for so the current of our apostle's discourse implies,) to be a compassionate and merciful High Priest to his Father for us, let us all publicly and privately, daily and hourly, beseech him by his agony and bloody sweat, by his cross and bitter passion, not only to make intercession for us, but to pour out the spirit of prayer upon us; to strengthen us with supplies of grace for subduing the body of sin which is within us unto the spirit, and to quicken our spirits unto newness of life, that so we may be able to stand before him in that great day of judgment.

SECTION II. 955

Of the Calling or Designment of the Son of God to be an High Priest after the Order of Melchisedec: of the Differences and Agreements in some particulars between the Priesthood of Aaron and the Priesthood of Melchisedec.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Signification or Importance of the word Calling, *used by our Apostle, Heb.* v; *with the general Heads or Points to be handled and discussed in sections* 2, 3, 4.

THAT the making of the Son of God perfect, τελειωθεὶς, ver. 9, implies *a solemn calling*, or *consecration to his high priesthood*, is yet more apparent from the words following, ver. 10—*called an High Priest after the order of Melchisedec.* This word *called* imports somewhat more than a name imposed upon him, though at his circumcision or at his baptism, more than a mere title of dignity. But what more than so? a solemn calling or designment unto this high office or prelacy? such a calling, but more solemn, than Aaron had unto the legal high priesthood. Unto this priesthood Aaron is said, chap. v. 4, that he was καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, that is, by special designment or destination advanced to the office of the high priest during the law. But when the same apostle speaks of the *calling of the Son of God unto the high priesthood after the order of Melchisedec*, ver. 10, the word in the original is more significant and more solemn than καλούμενος, as it refers to Aaron, for it is προσαγορευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, *solemnly*

declared or *pronounced by God to be an high priest after the order of Melchisedec.*

2. The method of our present inquiry or search into this grand mystery must be this:

First, who this Melchisedec was, according to whose order the Son of God was called to be a priest? or how Melchisedec, whosoever he were, did represent or shadow out the person of the Son of God?

Secondly, wherein the priesthood of Melchisedec did consist? or wherein it differed from the priesthood of Aaron? and what calling he had to such a priesthood?

Thirdly, what divine designment or calling the Son of God had to his everlasting priesthood?

956 Fourthly, a parallel between the consecration of Aaron, or other of his successors, to this legal priesthood, and the consecration of the Son of God to his everlasting priesthood prefigured or foreshadowed, not by Aaron or his successors, but by Melchisedec before the law was given.

Fifthly, the peculiar acts or exercises of the Son of God's everlasting priesthood. This fifth or last point must be referred as an appendix unto the articles of the Son of God's ascension, and his sitting at the right hand of God the Father. All these are points of good use, and worthy of deeper and better consideration than they usually are taken into by most interpreters of sacred writ, or controversy-writers.

The first question only may seem to be too curious: and so perhaps it is indeed, if we should take upon us to determine the individuality of Melchisedec's person, after whose order the Son of God was consecrated, or made a priest. But on the other side, it would be presumptuous absolutely to deny this Melchisedec to have been the same individual person whom the later Jews

generally, and many late learned Christian writers, take him for. The greatest difficulty in this point ariseth from the apostle's description of Melchisedec, Heb. vii. 3: *Without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God; abideth a priest continually.*

3. From this place some would peremptorily conclude that Melchisedec could be no mortal man, no son of Adam, but either the Holy Ghost or the Son of God, then appearing to Abraham in the similitude or likeness of man: for of this Melchisedec, save only in the history of Abraham, Gen. xiv. and psalm cx, there is no mention at all in the Old Testament.

To wave, or rather dismiss their opinion, who think Melchisedec the Holy Ghost, the third person in Trinity, seeing it is but a conjecture of some few, who rather wave than prosecute it, let us see what probability there is that this Melchisedec should be the eternal Word or Son of God appearing to Abraham in the likeness of man, and exercising the function and priesthood of the most high God.

CHAP. VII.

In what Sense Melchisedec is said to be without Father and Mother, Heb. vii. 3: *whether he were a mortal Man as Abraham was, though more ancient: wherein the Similitude between Melchisedec's Person and the Person of the Son of God doth specially consist.*

THIS latter opinion is broached and peremptorily maintained by a late learned and smartly elegant writer[a]; who though he be (as I conceive) as yet no divine or priest by profession, yet he takes upon him

[a] P. C. ib. 3. c. de Repub. Judæorum.

to censure the most divines or interpreters of sacred writ, whether ancient or modern, more sharply than I dare censure him. From whom notwithstanding I
957 dissent as freely, and (as I hope) upon better grounds, than he doth from them, especially if the grounds of his exceptions against them be not better than the grounds of the opinions which he takes upon him to refute. The main ground of his exception against such divines (ancient or modern) as think that Melchisedec who blessed Abraham was either some petty king amongst the Canaanites or other inhabitants of the land promised to Abraham, and actually possessed by his seed, or Sem the son of Noah, is this: no inhabitant of Canaan, not Sem himself the son of Noah, was *without father or mother, without genealogy, without beginning or end of days.* These titles this good writer conceives are peculiar to the Son of God, though more peculiar in the time of Abraham than at this day. But was our High Priest, or could he have been at that time, the true Son of God, and the God whose Son he was, not as truly then his Father as now he is? Again, if that Melchisedec who appeared to Abraham at least in the likeness of man, and in the reality of an high priest, were no other person beside the Son of God, it will concludently follow that the Son of God was then an *high priest after the order of Melchisedec;* or more than so, that Melchisedec was the Son of God. How then saith our apostle that *the Son of God was made an high priest by the word of the oath which was since the law, and by virtue of this oath consecrated for evermore,* being (as the author of this opinion supposeth) the priest of the most high God long before the law was given: or if Melchisedec was then the true and only Son of God, how is it said by our apostle, Heb. vii. 3, that he was

ἀφωμοιωμένος τῷ Υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ, *made like unto the Son of God?* Was the Son of God made like unto himself by taking the likeness of man upon him? or rather, was the manhood or likeness in which he appeared to Abraham made like unto the Son of God? The former part or division of this dilemma is improbable; the latter altogether impossible: for that man, or that likeness of man, who blessed Abraham, Gen. xiv, had a beginning and an end of days; unless the author of this opinion will maintain that the manhood or likeness of man, wherein the Son of God appeared to Abraham, was coeternal to his person; was begotten of God (not made) before all worlds, and to continue united to him world without end. Both parts of this assertion respectively contradict two fundamental articles of our creed: the one, that all things numerable, whether visible or invisible, were created of God by his Son, they had no being from eternity; the other, that the Son of God was made man of a woman in time, having no permanent body or likeness of man when he was so conceived: whence it is clear that the Melchisedec who blessed Abraham was not the eternal Son of God, nor made like unto him for his eternity by the body of man which he assumed or appeared in.

5. But it is not all one to refel other men's opinions or interpretations of divine oracles, and to maintain our own assertions, or (as the present occasion requireth) to clear the forecited place, Heb. vii: *He* (to wit, Melchisedec) *was made like unto the Son of God, being without father, without mother, without genealogy, without beginning or end of days.* For there is an opinion or presumed doctrine which hath gotten so long possession of many public chairs, as will hardly brook any opposition, either from the pulpit or from

private writers: the opinion is, that *Melchisedec being without father, without mother*, &c., was herein like unto the Son of God, or the Son of God like to him, in that he hath no father in earth, nor a mother in
958 heaven. But be the authors of this opinion how great soever, their followers how many soever, both most acute, all the strength which the wit of one can add unto the authority of the other, is but as if they should join hands or forces to take fast hold on the sheath or scabbard, having given the hilts of the sword of the spirit into the hands of the Jew, who may at his pleasure turn the points of our own weapons upon us, unless we learn to keep them more warily, and handle them more skilfully than these men have done. For he that hath a Father in heaven, may truly and absolutely be said to have a Father: for God is more truly our Father than those whom we call fathers on earth. Hence saith our Saviour, *Call no man father upon earth: for there is but one your Father, which is in heaven.* Matt. xxiii. 9. Yet is this God more truly Christ's Father than he is ours. Again, he that hath a true mother on earth may truly and absolutely be said to have a mother; otherwise all of us should be motherless children from our birth; for none of us had an heavenly mother, none of our mothers were brought to bed in heaven.

6. It being then granted that our Saviour had a true Father in heaven, and a true mother on earth, he must needs in both respects be more unlike unto Melchisedec, who (as our apostle saith) *was without father or mother*, than like unto him, in that he had no mother in heaven, no father on earth. Whence if we should maintain this similitude intended by our apostle to consist either in whole or part in Christ's being in this sort without father or mother, the Jew

might thus retort, *argumento ad homines efficaci*, that we Christians were a brood of monsters, and not the natural offspring of men and women, because none of us have a man for his mother, none of us a woman for his father. Besides, one of the two propositions whereon they labour to build our faith by this cross device is no sound pillar, but a broken or crazed prop. For if Christ be truly styled the Son of Abraham, the Son of David, he had fathers on earth according to the flesh, though not begotten by a carnal generation: nor was he the Son of Mary by carnal conception, yet truly her Son, and she truly his mother, and by consequence Abraham as truly his father. Again, to be *without father*, *without mother*, are but branches of that general negative, *without genealogy*. Now whether we consider him as God or as man, he cannot without wrong to the sacred character, or sense of the Holy Spirit, be thought, or said to be, ἀγενεαλόγητος, *without genealogy*, as Melchisedec is; for one generation or descent makes a genealogy; otherwise Cain and Abel should have been ἀγενεαλόγητοι, *without genealogy*, which titles, notwithstanding, cannot in the evangelist's meaning be applied unto Adam; for he derives all others' genealogies from Adam's, and Adam's from God, Luke iii. Now look in what sense Abel, Cain, or Adam may be said to have a genealogy, Christ may in the same sense have two: one as he is the Son of God, another as he is the Son of Abraham, David, and of Mary. [b]But so it is, that even the wisest and most judicious writers ofttimes swallow such fallacies in historical narrations or discourses, (of matters spiritual especially,) without any sensible disgust or dislike, as would be rejected no less than poison unallayed, were they exhibited to them

[b] Parag. 7.

in the simplicity of language or logistic form. To instance in a notorious one, much like unto this late mentioned.

959 7. The most ancient editions of Macrobius mention a jest of Augustus, broken upon Herod for killing his son at the same time that he butchered the Hebrew infants: *Mallem Herodis esse porcum quam filium.* Some ancient Christians, to salve the truth of this narration, being somewhat suspicious, (because Herod at that time had no known son that was a child,) have made the old tyrant father of a young son, (supposed to be born unto him by a second wife, of Jewish if not of David's progeny,) which the age wherein he lived never laid unto his charge. Some later critics, better able to disprove this supposititious brood, than apt to reform that error in themselves, which unreformed in others did beget it, have not spared to charge their brethren (in time their fathers) with falsification of Macrobius's text, as if the forecited passage had been inserted by some ancient Christians, as many verses in Sibylla's oracles have been, unless these and the like Aristarchuses fail in their criticisms. But for Macrobius's text, it is without question uncorrupt, and the Christian fathers free from that falsification of it whereof late critics have accused them. The zeal of the ancient fathers, and the censorious sauciness of later critics, did alike overreach their judgments. But this, as I said, is a fault common to us, and to those that are far our betters. We maintain our own positions, as if we were waking; we peruse good authors as if we had never looked upon them but in a slumber; yet what puny logician but would scorn to swallow this fallacy in a dream, *Chœrilus fuit vir bonus, Chœrilus fuit poeta, ergo Chœrilus fuit bonus poeta?* "Chœrilus

was a good man and a poet; therefore a good poet." The forementioned critical collection is in regard of its form alike false and disjointed; only the matter of it is not so vulgar or palpable. The root of the critics' erroneous censure was this: Herod killed the Syrian or Hebrew infants; amongst these infants he killed his own son; *ergo*, this son of Herod when he killed him was an infant. That Herod about the same time wherein the infants of Judah and Beth-lehem were by his appointment slain, did out of his jealous fear command Antipater his turbulent son to be put to death, no modern critic shall be ever able to disprove. That the killing of his own son (being come to maturity of age) with these infants, doth better sort with the analogy of God's justice usually manifested in the infatuation of politicians, and with the literal sense and character of Augustus' jest, (taking it as Macrobius hath expressed it,) than if he had slain the same party in his infancy, shall elsewhere (by God's assistance) be declared[c].

8. The fallacy for whose discovery these two former have been produced, is, in my opinion, of all three the most gross; the best form that can be put upon it is this: *Melchisedec was without father or mother;* Melchisedec is like unto the Son of God; *ergo*, Melchisedec is herein like unto the Son of God, in that he is *without father or mother*. The premises are most true, but the conclusion (if I may so speak) more than most false; for of all the persons that are, or have been in heaven or earth, none are so unlike as the Son of God and Melchisedec, if we state the com-

[c] In a disquisition (by way of homily or sermon upon the Epiphany) at what time and from what place the magi or wise men of the east came to Jerusalem to adore our Saviour Christ, whom they rightly believed to be the King of the Jews by birth.

parison betwixt them according to the natural tenor or importance of these terms, ἀγενεαλόγητος ἀπάτωρ καὶ ἀμήτωρ. What shall we say then? that these titles expressly given to Melchisedec by our apostle are altogether superfluous, needless, or impertinent to the conclusion intended by him? Rather, most necessary and most apposite. As how? Briefly thus: this de-
960 scription of him by these titles is a condition or qualification necessarily supposed or prerequired to the similitude intended betwixt Christ and him. It is no proper part or formal term of the similitude itself: that formally consists only in being without beginning or end of days; and herein they are as like one another as any body and its proper shadow can be.

9. Every man that hath a father, even Adam himself, who was *without father or mother*, had *a beginning of days:* every man that hath a son to succeed him, is likewise supposed to have an end of days. Whence it is that no king of Judah or Israel, not *Solomon himself in all his glory*, could be any true model of the Son of God in respect of his eternity: no priest or son of Levi, not Eleazar, Phinehas, or Aaron himself, though pictured in their pontifical ornaments, could bear any colour or resemblance of his everlasting priesthood. For all these are γενεαλόγητοι; their parents, their sons, and successors, are exactly registered in the sacred volume; and the same page or table which expresseth their genealogy doth represent withal their mortality, that they had a beginning or end of days: and whosoever hath a beginning or end of days can be no true shadow of eternity, or of the Son of God as he is eternal.

CHAP. VIII.

That the Omission of Melchisedec's Genealogy did import a special Mystery, and what that Mystery was.

MAY we hence aver that every man mentioned in scripture, whose birth, whose death or genealogy is not expressed, may be a true shadow or picture of the Son of God, as he is eternal? We do not, we need not say so. The day is oftentimes mentioned in the scripture, without any mention of the night: yet to seek after a mystical sense in all such places, were to set our wits a wandering in a waking dream. But seeing in the story of the world's creation, we find such accurate and constant mention of the evening and morning making one day, until all the works of the six days were accomplished, and no mention of any evening in the seventh day, which God did sanctify for a day of rest, we may with the ancients safely admit the first six days to be as a map or calendar of the six ages of this transitory world, wherein there is a continual vicissitude of light and darkness, no joy or pleasure without sorrow and grief for their successors and companions; and the Mosaical description of the seventh, to be an emblem or shadow of the everlasting sabbath in the heavens, which shall be a day of joy and gladness, without mixture of darkness or succession of night, without any medley of pains or grief.

2. By perfect analogy to this and the like, not more mystical than orthodoxal interpretation of scripture, not merely authorized by the Greek or Latin fathers, but presupposed by our apostle as unquestionable among the ancient Jews, we may infer our intended conclusion: what was that? That the omission of

every man's genealogy, whose name or deeds are specified in the sacred story, is always a sign or token
961 of some latent mystery? No, but rather thus: Seeing no king or priest of Abraham's lineage, were he good or bad, seeing no patriarch from whom God's blessings did lineally descend, but hath a genealogy upon sacred record, the omission of so great a man's genealogy as was Melchisedec, who was a king and priest of the most high God; a priest which solemnly and really blessed *him in whose seed all the nations of the earth were to be blessed; unto whom Abraham paid tithes of all that he had;* the omission of such a man's genealogy doubtless includes some great and weighty mystery. And if we stand not (as in many like cases we ought not) upon the logical inference which the assertive letter affords, but follow the emblematical or characteristical sense of the story, we may behold this man to be (as the apostle speaks) ἀφωμοιωμένος, that is, one *transformed*, or *turned out of his proper shape* or *likeness*, that he might be like the Son of God. The absimilation of this man (whosoever he were) from himself, that he might be like the Son of God, consists especially in the abandoning or putting off all references to father or mother, to wife or children: for these references in man necessarily represent a beginning and end of days, and by consequency a dissimilitude to the person of the Son of God, who is eternal, and to his endless priesthood.

3. It was the speech of one man, but is universally true of all, *Mortalis mortalem genui;* and it is as necessarily and essentially true of God, *Immortalis immortalem gignit.* For seeing God is more essentially and more immutably immortal, more truly eternal than we are mortal, then he which is as truly the Son of God, as we are the sons of men or Adam,

must needs be as absolutely eternal as the Deity, or Divine Nature, or as God the Father himself: otherwise the generation should be equivocal and imperfect, not univocal; as contrary to nature itself, and as prodigious, as for a mortal man to beget an immortal son, as for a woman to conceive a God. And if there were no other places of scripture (as God be praised there are plenty) to infer the absolute eternity, or eternal generation of the Son of God, against the Arian or other heretic, the very foundation of our apostle's similitude between Melchisedec and Christ, (Heb. vii.) doth clearly represent thus much to all that look not on it with Jewish spectacles. To conclude then: as the greatness and height of Melchisedec's calling serves as a map to represent the high Majesty of the everlasting priesthood; so the omission of his genealogy is an emblem or shadow of the infinite duration or eternity of the Son of God. Howbeit if we should take off this borrowed shape, or wipe out the artificial colours wherewith it hath pleased the Spirit to set forth this lively picture of Christ, yet the very table itself whereon the picture is drawn, is more apt than any other tree in all the garden of God besides to be made an heavenly Mercury. The fitness of it for this purpose will more easily be apprehended, if we suppose what the ancient Jews (whose traditions, where they are no parties, are in no wise to be rejected) take as granted, viz., that he whom Moses, Gen. xiv, calls Melchisedec, was Shem the Great, the son of Noah. This Shem was a man begotten of his father before the world that then was; our High Priest, our heavenly Mercury, is the Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, before any period or instant of imaginary time, even from eternity itself.

962 CHAP. IX.

What manner of Blessing it was which Melchisedec bestowed on Abraham. That the manner of the Blessing argues Melchisedec to have been Shem the Great, as the Jewish Rabbins enstyle him, the eldest Son of Noah, not by birth, yet by Prerogative of the first born.

I DARE not obtrude this tradition of the ancient Jews as a point of our belief, yet the matter of it is as probable as any doctrine whatsoever, that is grounded only upon the analogy of faith, not upon express testimonies of scripture, or conclusions deduced from such testimonies by demonstrative consequences. The allegations for this opinion, were they exactly calculated or put together, amount so high, as no assertion contained within the sphere of probability can overtop them. The exceptions of Pererius and Maldonate against them are too weak, albeit they touch not half so many as are diligently and accurately gathered by Dr. Willet; unto whose labours I refer such as desire further satisfaction in this point, neither absolutely necessary, nor altogether needless. One or two reasons not alleged by him come now to be discussed.

The first, What manner of blessing it was which Melchisedec bestowed on Abraham, Heb. vii.

The second, How the matter and manner of this blessing proves this Melchisedec to be Shem.

2. But what kind of blessing did our apostle mean? verbal only, or by way of salutation? So the people may bless their priests, the worst of men their godliest prelates, and wretchedest beggars greatest kings; of such kind of blessing the maxim undoubtedly affirmed by our apostle cannot be true. Of what blessing then is it most undoubtedly true? Of real and solemn blessings authenticly imparted, *ex officio*, as when

a bishop confirmeth children; or by way of bequest, as when the father bestows an heritage with his blessing upon the son; as Abraham blessed Isaac, Isaac Jacob, Jacob Judah and his brethren.

3. Whom then may we imagine this man should be, which in this sort blessed Abraham, who was a man than whom there was none greater amongst the sons of men, none in his time (Melchisedec only excepted) so great in the church of God? No analogy either of sacred rule, or of tenets jointly maintained by the English and Romish church, (concerning the never interrupted succession of the true church, or the ministers in it,) will suffer us to think this Melchisedec should be a Canaanite. For although we ought, perhaps, to be as far from denying as from affirming, that God had many chosen vessels amongst the sons of Cham, yet is it no way probable, or to be affirmed, that he had any visible church amongst them at that time whereof we speak, much less any such orthodoxal authentic high priest as was *ex officio* to bless *him* with whom the everlasting covenant was to be established: within whose family and posterity the true and visible church was to be confined almost two thousand years after. Nor do we in saying thus tie the Almighty (as some haply will accuse us) to use no 963
means but ordinary in bestowing his extraordinary blessings. But this we say, that where the manner of his *calling* is most extraordinary and miraculous, it is his pleasure to use the ordinary means of lawful ministers for the ratification or declaring of his *calling;* at least for the admission of the parties *called* unto the emoluments or prerogatives of their calling. Paul was plucked away from the synagogue (as a sappy branch from a dying tree) by the immediate and strong hand of God, but to be ingrafted or inocu-

lated into the true church, which is the body of Christ by means ordinary and ministerial, by the hands of Ananias, a civil and visible member of Christ's mystical body.

4. In like manner we do not deny the manner of God's calling Abraham out of Haran, and the matter of the blessings then promised to him, to have been both extraordinary, in which blessing notwithstanding he is to be installed by Melchisedec, appointed as God's deputy or vicegerent (so the Hebrew *cohen* properly signifieth) to ratify or seal the former promises unto him. The manner of the conveyance is formal and legal, such as God ordinarily useth in like cases. And by probable consequence this Melchisedec, whosoever he were, was a true principal member of the visible church, which at that time was nowhere on earth but in Shem and his posterity. Of those sons of Shem which are mentioned in Abraham's genealogy, most were dead; others, (for aught we read, or by analogy can gather from what we have read,) no way so fitly qualified for this service as Shem himself, who was then alive. For Shem had been solemnly blessed by his father: and although he be represented unto us in Genesis iv. under another name and shape than he received the blessing in, yet the Holy Spirit seems to point him speaking in his own native language, and solemnly bestowing that blessing upon Abraham his son, which his father Noah had bestowed on him: *Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and let Canaan be his servant.* Gen. ix. 26. The implication or importance is as if he had said, 'Shem shall have cause to bless the Lord his God for making him lord of Canaan.' This blessing or bequest we know was to bear date as well in Shem's posterity as in himself, but principally in his posterity.

Now we nowhere read of any conveyance or bequest of this blessing made by Shem unto his successors, besides that solemn blessing which Melchisedec (whom for this reason we suppose to have been Shem) bestowed on Abraham. The tenor of his bequest or conveyance is more express, Gen. xiv. 19: ***Blessed be Abraham of God most high, possessor of heaven and earth.*** This prophetical benediction implies that Abraham and his posterity should have cause to bless the Lord their God, for giving them possession of that earth or land which was the type or pledge of their heavenly inheritance and possessions. This was the gain of godliness, that *merces valde magna*, to have the promise of this life and of that which is to come. And as the land of promise or kingdom of Canaan once possessed, was a true pledge or earnest of their title to the heavenly kingdom, so Abraham, at the very time when Melchisedec blessed him, received the pledges of his posterity's hopes unto that temporal kingdom.

5. For albeit we utterly deny all sacrifice of bread and wine, yet may we not, in opposition to the papist, affirm or maintain that Melchisedec entertained Abraham and his followers only with a vulgar or common refection. These elements of bread and wine being considered with the solemnity of the blessing, have, 964
besides the literal sense, a symbolical or mystical importance; and are thus far at least sacramental, that they served for earnests, to secure Abraham that his posterity should quietly enjoy and eat the good things of that pleasant land wherein he was now a sojourner. Briefly, Abraham in that sacred banquet which the king of Salem exhibited unto him, did (as we say) take *levery de seisin* of the promised land, and (as it is probable) in that very place which God had destinated

for the metropolis of the kingdom, or at least in that place where John did baptize. And albeit Melchisedec did (no doubt) derive the blessing bestowed on Shem or on himself by Noah in more express terms unto Abraham, by inspiration extraordinary and divine, yet Abraham at this time had afforded him a fit text or theme to make these extemporary expositions or declarations upon: of all that had proceeded out of the loins of Shem, none as yet had ever given the like proof of his likelihood to become lord of Canaan as Abraham now had done, whom God had enabled to right the king of Sodom and other Canaanitish kings, not being able to right themselves, against foreign usurpers.

6. For any man of ordinary understanding that had been an actor in the late war, (so happily managed by Abraham,) and a bystander at Melchisedec's blessing of him, to have conjectured to this purpose, had been as easy and as warrantable as it was for the Israelites to divine that Moses should be their deliverer by the manner of his killing the Egyptian which had contended with an Israelite. Now the Holy Spirit seems to tax their dulness for not apprehending this mystery from the manner of Moses' fact. Thus we may derive God's blessings upon mankind since the flood, from Noah to Shem, from Shem, whom we take to be Melchisedec, unto Abraham, in whose seed all the nations of the earth were to be blessed. This argues Abraham's promised seed to be greater than Melchisedec, for Abraham was blessed by Melchisedec, not in Melchisedec's name, but in the name of the most high God, whose priest he was. Howbeit this promised *seed* of Abraham was not greater than Melchisedec in external beauty or prerogative royal, till after his resurrection or second birth. During the time of his

humiliation he was rather destinated than consecrated to be the *author* or fountain of blessedness unto us. For as the apostle argues, Heb. v. 8, *Though he were the Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered: and being consecrated* (to wit) by his sufferings, *became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him; and is called of God* (from the time of his resurrection or exaltation) *an high priest after the order of Melchisedec.*

CHAP. X.

Wherein the Priesthood of Melchisedec did differ from the Priesthood of Aaron; that Melchisedec did not offer any Sacrifice of Bread and Wine unto God when he blessed Abraham.

THE office of Aaron and of his sons we have described, Deut. x. 8: *At that time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of* 965
the Lord, to stand before the Lord to minister unto him, and to bless in his name, unto this day. And again, Deut. xviii. 3: *This shall be the priest's duty,* &c. *For the Lord thy God hath chosen him out of all thy tribes, to stand and minister in the name of the Lord, him and his sons for ever,* ver. 5. Could Melchisedec's office be greater, or his patent ampler, especially for duration? for sacrifice, prayer, and blessing, are the trinal dimensions of the priesthood howsoever taken. This difficulty perhaps did occasion a foul error in the Romish church, or encourage her followers to maintain this error brought forth (it may be) upon other occasions, to wit, that the office of Melchisedec should properly consist and herein especially differ from the priesthood of Aaron: for that when he met Abraham, he offered up bread and wine by way of proper sacrifice unto God, as a type or pledge of the

unbloody sacrifice of the mass, unto which the Romanists for the most part restrain the exercise of Christ's priesthood after the order of Melchisedec.

2. To omit their chymical conceits, who labour in vain to extract some act of sacrificing out of the original word *hotsi*, Maldonate[d] (the most zealous and laborious pleader in this argument, because Calvin had held the monkish allegorizers to the literal and grammatical sense of scriptures) holds it no sin to put a trick of grammar (so they would admit it) upon Calvin's followers, upon the very text itself. For whereas the Romish interpreters who went before him admit the vulgar edition, *et erat sacerdos Dei altissimi*, this critic, to despite Calvin, will correct *magnificat*, and renders it thus, *et erat sacrificans Deo altissimo*. His reason for this innovation is, because the Hebrew *cohen* is for its form a participle of the present tense; but surely he was better read in his grammar than in his lexicon, although better read in that than in the Hebrew text; for although the Hebrew *cohen* be usually taken for *a priest*, yet *to sacrifice* is no part of the proper and formal signification of the radical verb *cahan;* that directly imports no more than *ministravit*, or *sacerdotem egit*. Whence though it be most true that every sacrificer is a *cohen*, is a priest, or minister of God; yet is not this truth simply convertible, that is, 'every *cohen*, priest, or minister of God, is a sacrificer,' specially if we speak of times before the law was given, or since it expired; much less will it follow that every act or function which the minister of God performs should be a sacrifice. So that albeit we should give the critical Jesuit leave to degrade the Hebrew *cohen*, and turn it out of a noun (in which form and habit it was

[d] In his Comment. upon Psalm cx.

taken by all his predecessors) into the nature and value of a participle, the grammatical sense will amount to no more than this, *et erat ministrans*, or *sacerdotio fungens Deo altissimo;* and all this Melchisedec might do, and this he verily did in blessing Abraham, not in bringing forth or offering bread and wine. The letter of the text runs thus: *And Melchisedec king of Salem brought forth bread and wine, and he was a priest of the most high God.* Suppose a man should here interrupt the reader or relater of this history thus: What if he were a priest of the most high God? to what purpose is this clause inserted? the Holy Ghost in the next words clears the doubt, or rather prevents the question—*And he blessed Abraham.* In what form or sort? *Blessed be Abraham of the most high God.* So then Melchisedec is instyled a priest of the most high God, to shew his warrant to bless in the name of the most high God. And for this interpretation I have the warrant or confirmation from Cyril [e] of Alexandria.

3. As for his bread and wine, he offered these to Abraham, and not to God, as Philo Judæus[f], a competent witness in this controversy, hath informed us: for this good author opposeth Melchisedec's hospitality towards Abraham unto Amalek's niggardly and uncharitable disposition towards Israel coming out of the house of affliction. "Amalek," saith he, "was excluded from the congregation of the Lord, because he met not Israel with bread and water, whereas Melchisedec had met our father Abraham (laden with the spoils of his enemies) with bread and

[e] Προσεπάγει δὲ ὅτι καὶ Μελχισεδὲκ βασιλεὺς Σαλὴμ, ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτῷ ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον· ἦν δὲ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου καὶ εὐλόγησε τὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ εἶπεν εὐλογημένος Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ, &c. Lib. 1. glaphyr. in titul. de Abraham et Melchisedech.

[f] Lib. 2. sacræ Legis Allegoriarum, pag. 106.

wine." He hath not (in my opinion) erred much in taking the symbols or elements of bread and wine for emblems of that true *pabulum animæ*, which consists in contemplation of heavenly things. And yet I am persuaded he had no express knowledge of the true object of such contemplation, to wit, the body and blood of Christ, or of the benefit conveyed to us from them (since they were offered in sacrifice unto God) by the elements of bread and wine, not as mere signs, but as undoubted pledges of his body and blood to be communicated to us.

4. And although Suidas, in his second paragraph on the word *Melchisedec*, will have our Saviour's priesthood after the order of Melchisedec to take beginning from the night before his passion, wherein he took bread and wine and blessed them; yet in his third paragraph upon the same word, he saith, ἐξήγαγεν αὐτῷ, Melchisedec brought forth bread and wine unto Abraham. But let us suppose—what the text will not support—that Melchisedec did offer up a sacrifice of bread and wine to the most high God; thus much being granted, we may draw that net which the Romanist sets for others upon himself; for our next interrogatory should be this—Of what sacrifice may we by any analogy of faith imagine this supposed sacrifice of Melchisedec to be the type? of the daily reiterated sacrifice of the mass, or of the one only sacrifice of the Son of God? Surely, if Melchisedec be a true type of the everlasting Priest, his sacrifice must be a type of this Priest's everlasting sacrifice. Now as we read not (though Maldonate's reading of the former place were true) that Melchisedec did offer any sacrifice besides this supposed sacrifice of bread and wine, so we must undoubtedly believe that the Son of God did offer no more sacrifices than one, and that one never to

be reiterated, because the value of it being truly infinite, the efficacy of it must needs be absolutely everlasting; if otherwise, we should with the Romanists admit of a sacrifice by succession or multiplication as everlasting as this transitory world, which shall not last for ever: besides the inconveniences which they multiply by this vain apology for their wicked practices, we must of necessity acknowledge Melchisedec to have been a type or figure not of Christ, or not of Christ only, or not so properly of him, as of the whole generation of mass priests; and his sacrifice to have been a truer type of the unbloody sacrifice which they daily offer, than of Christ's bloody everlasting sacrifice upon the cross. Yea the meanest, most illiterate, and lewdest mass priest should be as true a successor of Melchisedec, of Christ himself, as Phinehas or Eleazar were of Aaron.

5. Mariana, in his brief comment, or large notes upon Genesis xiv, boldly avoucheth the unbloody sa- 967
crifice of the mass to have been prefigured by Melchisedec's sacrifice of bread and wine. But the point itself he toucheth so gently, as if he had desired to have balked it, as indeed he doth but wave it; and questionless he would have omitted it, as he doth many other tenets maintained by the church of Rome, when he comes to interpret those scriptures whereon ancient schoolmen or vulgar commentators have laboured to ground them. But unto the forecited history of Melchisedec, because it is held such a principal sort of the Romish religion, he durst not but do his wonted homage, intimating withal that he had somewhat more to say to this point when he should come to interpret the Epistle to the Hebrews. But albeit he lived to finish his intended work or learned Scholia upon the Bible, yet when he came to the seventh chapter to the

Hebrews, all he had to say was to refer us to what he had said upon the fourteenth of Genesis: and to this reference he adds such a caveat, or an appendix, as if he would give us to understand that he had said more upon the fourteenth of Genesis than he could tell how to make good out of St. Paul's parallel between Melchisedec and our Saviour Christ. *Miror in hoc capite inter tot similitudines, quibus Melchisedech Christum representat nihil dixisse de sacrificio panis, et vini quod Melchisedech obtulit, ut diximus, Genes.* xiv. 18. *symbolum nostri sacrificii et eucharistiæ, de qua malo alios audire quam ipse pronuntiare; indicasse sit satis*[g].

6. The youngest this day living, whether in the English or Romish church, though he die for very age, shall not live to read or hear any Jesuit or other advocate of the Romish church give any satisfactory answer to this brief demand. The answer on our part is very easy, because the question on their part is foolish. Our answer is, that the apostle was not to meddle with more comparisons between Christ and Melchisedec than were true in themselves, and intended by the Holy Ghost, of which number this fiction of the Romish church concerning Melchisedec's sacrifice of bread and wine is no part or appurtenance, neither doth the letter of the text, or any circumstance of the history, unpartial antiquity, or any orthodoxal rule of interpretation, favour it.

[g] "I wonder that in this chapter, amongst so many similitudes wherein Christ is shadowed and represented by Melchisedec, there is no mention at all of the sacrifice of bread and wine, which Melchisedec offered, (as before was intimated,) Gen. xiv. 18, being as a symbol or token of our sacrifice and eucharist; concerning which point, that I had rather hear other men speak than declare mine own opinion," &c. Mariana in 27 septimi cap. ad Hebræos.

CHAP. XI.

In respect of what Points especially the Priesthood of Melchisedec did forepicture the Priesthood of the Son of God.

BUT if the priesthood of Melchisedec did not herein specially differ from the priesthood of Aaron, 'in that Melchisedec did offer an unbloody sacrifice, whereas the offerings of Aaron were for the most part bloody sacrifices,' what other difference can we with probability conceive betwixt them? or wherein did Melchisedec's sacerdotal function more excellently forepicture our Saviour's priesthood than the priesthood of Aaron did? For as Aaron and his successors did offer bloody 968
sacrifices as well daily as anniversary, so the Son of God did offer up himself in bloody sacrifice upon the cross; and by this offering up of himself once for all, did accomplish whatsoever was forepictured by all manner of bloody sacrifices which Aaron and his posterity were authorized to offer. To this query the answer hath been premised[1]; and it was this: That when the Son of God did offer up himself upon the cross, he was neither a priest after the order of Aaron nor of Melchisedec, but a priest in *fieri*, or in his consecration foreshadowed by Melchisedec. And after the consecration was accomplished, he was not to offer any sacrifice at all, either bloody or unbloody. Though we dare not say Melchisedec did never offer any bloody or other sacrifice, yet we do not read of any which he offered. This part of his function (if at any time he ever exercised it) is omitted of purpose by the Holy Ghost, as his genealogy is, that by this representation of him he might more exactly foreshadow the priesthood of the Son of God, who after his consecration

[1] Sect. 1. chap. 4.

was not to offer any sacrifice at all. All the similitudes intended by the apostle between Melchisedec and our High Priest consist especially in these three: first, in the identity of their titles; in the greatness of their persons; and in the authoritative manner of bestowing their blessings. For the identity or analogy of their titles is a point which hath been discussed before. Some scruple is cast by an author before mentioned, that this title of *king of Salem* should be as nominal a title as *Melchisedec* or *king of righteousness* was. But if this conjecture were true, our apostle had instyled him, when he interprets the importance of his titles, not βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ, but Μελχισαλήμ, as he did the former title, *Melchisedec king of righteousness*, or *the righteous king*, Heb. vii. 1. Melchisedec was his *prænomen*, or a name given unto him by such as had been sensible of his righteous dealing with his subjects or neighbourhoods. But when the apostle saith he was βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ, this denotes the place or territory whereof he was, not by name only, but by just inheritance, king.

2. For the greatness of his person or place in those times, that we must learn from our apostle, Heb. vii. 4: Θεωρεῖτε δὲ πηλίκος οὗτος: *Now consider how great this man* (or *this priest*) *was, unto whom even the patriarch Abraham gave the tenth of the spoils. And verily they that are of the sons of Levi, who receive the office of the priesthood, have a commandment to take tithes of the people according to the law, that is, of their brethren, though they came out of the loins of Abraham: but he whose descent is not counted from them* (for he lived and died some centuries of years before them) *received tithes of Abraham, and blessed him that had the promises. And without all contradiction the less is blessed of the better. And*

here men that die receive tithes; but there he receiveth them, of whom it is witnessed that he liveth. And as I may so say, Levi also, who receiveth tithes, payed tithes in Abraham (or *was tithed in Abraham*). *For he was yet in the loins of his father, when Melchisedec met him.*

3. About the manner how Levi was tithed in Abraham some questions have been made by the schoolmen, or if haply made by others, not so handsomely or happily resolved by them: for they draw this point, how Levi should be tithed in Abraham, unto physical or philosophical disputes; whereas our apostle argues the case between the priesthood of Aaron and of Melchisedec with such men as were too much addicted unto the Levitical and Mosaical law, appealing, not to 969
the rules of that law, but to the rules of the civil moral law, or law of nations. The extract of our apostle's meaning (if I mistake not) is this; that if Levi, Moses, or Aaron, had been in full possession of their inheritance unto tithes from their brethren at that time when Melchisedec met Abraham; or if Melchisedec had lived in Canaan unto their days, they ought to have done as their father Abraham did, that is, to have solemnly acknowledged this Melchisedec to have been their better, by paying the tribute of tithes unto him. Our apostle takes it as unquestionable, that Melchisedec was Abraham's better, and being either better or a greater man than Abraham was, then certainly a greater or better man than Moses or Aaron were, than any son of Abraham, besides the promised seed or Messias, whom the Jewish nation expected, had been. And of this promised seed alone, Melchisedec, for the greatness of his person, was the only type.

4. For albeit Abraham were a prophet, and did

exercise the function of a priest within his own family, or for some others, upon special occasions; albeit some of Abraham's seed were both kings and prophets, others both priests and prophets, yet none of them were both kings and priests; none of them anointed to these two functions. Melchisedec (though perhaps never solemnly anointed to either function) was the only man which was by Divine Providence, or heavenly calling, both a true king and a priest of the most high God. By both these titles the tithes of all the spoils which Abraham had got by conquest were due; nor are any other tithes, predial or personal, due to any this day, save only to the king or supreme majesty, or to bishops and priests within the regions whêrein they accrue. And for this reason (as I conjecture) the Danish[k] nation, after they had embraced the gospel, and were become, of a heathenish, a Christian commonweal or kingdom, did allot the tithes of their labours, or increase of vegetables, or profitable living creatures, unto their king and to their bishops, excluding then the great bishop of Rome: for when he demanded his portion in them, he was rejected by that sharp and witty answer of Woldmarus: "We have our kingdom from our subjects, our life from our parents, our reli-

[k] Tertius est status ecclesiasticus, in quo fuerunt episcopi septem, ad quem cæteri etiam canonici referuntur. Hi habent decimas in regno: quæ tamen in provinciis diversis diverso modo dividuntur, dimidiam partem decimarum percipiunt episcopi, dimidiam rex, aliquam canonici pastores, pars etiam ad ædificandas ecclesias contribuitur. Et quantum ad pontificium jus attinet, semper in hoc regno, quemadmodum etiam in Gallia, nominationes et ordinationes prælaturarum episcopatuumque regibus, ad hoc usque tempus, collatæ fuerunt, ut etiam ex responso Waldemari quarti regis Daniæ ut arbitror, quod hic annectere libuit, constat. Cum pontifex Romanus a rege hæc et similia postularet, fertur rescripsisse rex, Regnum habemus a subditis, vitam a parentibus, religionem a Romana ecclesia, quam si repetis, remitto per præsentes. —Mercator. pag. 82. in descriptione Daniæ.

gion from the church of Rome, which if your holiness redemand, we remit it by these presents."

Whether his meaning was, that he would abandon Christian religion simply, or the religion of the then Romish church only, rather than forego his portion of tithes allotted to him as king, I leave it with all submission to the Searcher of all our hearts and Judge of all our actions. I have no warrant or just presumption out of any history to accuse this king either of atheism or irreligion.

5. But Melchisedec was both king and priest, a more sovereign king than Woldmarus was, and a greater high priest than the bishop of Rome, or any other that have lived on earth, besides the Son of God himself, whose picture or shadow he was. That this Son of God or seed of Abraham which he assumed should be much greater than Melchisedec king of 970
Salem, is implied in the manner of God's promised blessing unto Abraham being compared with the manner of Melchisedec's blessing Abraham. For Abraham was blessed by Melchisedec not in Melchisedec's name, but in the name of the most high God, whose priest he was; for he was blessed by him, not in him, whereas in Abraham's seed all the nations of the earth, Melchisedec as well as Abraham, were to be blessed. Howbeit, this promised seed of Abraham was no greater than Melchisedec in external beauty or prerogative royal till after his resurrection or second birth. During the time of his humiliation, he was rather destinated than consecrated to be the author or fountain of blessedness unto us. For as the apostle argues, Heb. v. 8—10: *Though he were the Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered; and being consecrated,* (to wit, by his sufferings,) *became the author of eternal salvation unto all that obey him;*

and is called of God (from the time of his resurrection or exaltation) *an high priest after the order of Melchisedec:* for from this time, and not before, his royal priesthood did commence. So he saith to his disciples immediately after his resurrection, *All power is given to me in heaven and earth;* power to bless with the blessings of this life, and of the life to come. And being now after his consecration to be enthronized in his kingdom and royal priesthood, *he lifted up his hands, and blessed his disciples. And it came to pass, that as he blessed them, he departed from them, and was carried up into heaven.* Luke xxiv. 50, 51. Yet, being there in body, he continues with his church here on earth by continuation of his blessings unto the world's end. That this part of his priestly function, to wit, his authoritative or authentic blessing, doth follow his resurrection, our apostle intimates, Acts iii. 25, 26: *Ye are the children of the prophets, and of the covenant which God hath made unto our father, saying unto Abraham, Even in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed. First unto you hath God raised up his Son Jesus, and him he hath sent to bless you, in turning every one of you from your iniquities.* And again, *Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles,* Gal. iii. 13, 14. So that the Jews were the first, but not the only party interessed in the blessing wherewith God by Melchisedec blessed Abraham. For inasmuch as that blessing was the same blessing (though further spread and better branched) wherewith God by Noah blessed Shem, we Gentiles, the sons of Japheth, were heirs of it in reversion. For though Shem be the first, Japheth was in the second place blessed with his brother Shem, Gen. ix. 27: *God persuade Japheth,*

that he may dwell in the tents of Shem; and let Canaan be his servant. So that Melchisedec doth prefigure Christ's priesthood by his authority to bless in God's name: blessing, as it was applied unto Melchisedec, is but a shadow or surface only. Abraham indeed was blessed by him, but in the name of the most high God: but blessing as appliable to Christ is a solid, and hath its trinal dimension. We are blessed for him, we are blessed through him, we are blessed by him; and, which is the full issue or product of all three dimensions, we shall be everlastingly blessed in him. For the first, we may not so much as beg any blessing or good thing at God's hand but for his sake: hence it is that all our prayers are conceived in this form, either expressly or implicitly, *propter merita Jesu Christi.* Secondly, of those blessings which it pleaseth God to grant for his sake, we may not entreat, no not expect their conveyance should be made unto us by any other person or means, 971
than by him and the virtue of his sufferings: and for this reason it is that we usually conclude our prayers, *per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum,* "through Jesus Christ our Lord;" not *propter Jesum Christum:* that is always expressed or implied in the body or beginning of the prayer. It was the intention of the ancients to instruct us by those two usual clauses of our solemn prayers, that whatsoever we ask for Christ's sake we cannot otherwise obtain than through him. And though the Father be the first granter, yet the Son immediately bestows all blessings upon us, as the places of scripture late alleged testify. God's blessings descend to us only by him, that they may draw us unto him, in whom only we are blessed. For that everlasting happiness of the life to come, formally consists in our union with him, and cannot be manifested

or imparted to us, but by the participation of his blessed presence.

6. Will ye have a more particular map in what manner the blessing of Abraham descends upon us by this our High Priest? then call to mind in what terms Melchisedec blessed Abraham. They were these: *Blessed be Abraham of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth;* Melchisedec (if the same be Shem) had, by virtue of his father Noah's blessings, a manifest right unto the land of Canaan, and had some part of it in possession; and this right and title he bequeaths to Abraham. The chief matter of his blessing is, that Abraham's posterity should be kings and priests in that land; and albeit he were a priest of the most high God, yet his kingdom was of this world, and in this world, though a type of the heavenly kingdom. But our Saviour's kingdom was not of this world, for since his resurrection he hath taken possession of heaven as he is man, but in the right and title of the eternal Son of God. God the Father made all things by God the Son, whom he hath made heir of all things as man, which were made by him as God; not as an heir in his nonage, but as joint Lord with his Father, at whose right hand he is placed; so that as man he hath more full and more immediate authority to dispose of heaven, than Melchisedec had to dispose of Canaan, for he bestowed that upon Abraham by way of prayer, as became a priest of the most high God. But this our High Priest, who is also the most high God, shall dispose of heaven to his servants by royal sentence and authority as King: *Then shall the King say unto them that sit on his right hand, Venite benedicti Patris mei, possidete vobis paratum regnum a constitutione mundi: Come ye blessed of my Father, possess ye the kingdom prepared for you from the*

foundation of the world. This is the accomplishment of that blessing which Melchisedec bestowed upon Abraham; and the second part of his benediction must be the everlasting song of such as are blessed in Abraham's seed: *Blessed be the most high God, who hath delivered our enemies into our hands: who hath enabled us to overcome the world, the devil, and the flesh.* And though Christ our High Priest were the Son of David and of Abraham as man, according to the flesh, yet as man he is the first begotten from the dead, and Father of the world to come. Melchisedec himself, in respect of the everlasting blessing, is his son, and must have his portion in it at the last day: for if all nations, if every one of any nation that is truly blessed, be blessed in Abraham's seed, Melchisedec himself must be blessed in him, not only by him; and therefore he is that *most high God, possessor of heaven and earth,* in whose name *Melchisedec blessed Abraham.*

7. But to return to our apostle's next passage, Heb. vii. 11, &c.: *If therefore perfection were by the Levitical priesthood, (for under it the people received the law,) what further need was there that another priest should rise after the order of Melchisedec, and not be called after the order of Aaron? For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law.* The full discussion of ver. 12, because it contains matter of controversy amongst us Christians[m], and between several professed members of reformed churches—as whether Christ were a Lawgiver, or wherein the law which he gave did differ from or excel the law of Moses, whether Levitical or moral—must be referred to another treatise.

[m] Vide Cyrillum, lib. 1. glaphyrorum in titulo de Abraham et Melchisedec.

The law (saith our apostle) *made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did.* So our later English reads the text, yet proffers to us another reading in the margin, which (in mine opinion) is
972 more consonant to our apostle's meaning, to wit, *that the law was an introduction of a better hope, by which we draw near to God.* And this *drawing near to God* is that perfection which the law could not effect. But the principal point whereon our apostle pitcheth, for evincing the priesthood of Christ to be far more excellent than the Levitical priesthood, was reserved to the last place, and pathetically though briefly avouched, ver. 20, &c.: *And inasmuch as not without an oath.* (*For those priests,* to wit, after the order of Aaron, *were made without an oath; but this,* to wit, Christ, *with an oath by him that said unto him, The Lord sware and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec:*) *by so much was Jesus made the surety of a better covenant. And they truly were many priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death: but this man, because he continueth for ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them.* And again, ver. 28: *For the law maketh men high priests which have infirmity; but the word of the oath, which was since the law, maketh the Son, who is consecrated for evermore.* These two last passages require a fuller discussion of a point often touched upon in some printed treatises and divers sermons: a point much neglected by many good divines, and carped at by others through their ignorance in true antiquity, viz., What the interposition of God's special oath doth import more than his largest promises without an oath.

SECTION III.

Of the Calling or Destination of the Seed of Abraham, and Son of David, by solemn Oath to the everlasting Priesthood.

CHAP. XII.

The chief or main Principle whereon our Apostle grounds his Treatise or Discourse to the Hebrews; containing a Paraphrase upon the most Part of the sixth Chapter to the Hebrews.

SEEING every rational writer, that writes to any good end and purpose, hath always some one or more principles on which his discourse doth revolve or settle, as a sphere or body orbicular doth upon its axis or centre, the advice which Cardanus somewhere gives to every one who would take upon him to comment upon any good author is very useful. And his advice is this; first to seek out the main principles (be they few or more) whereon the author doth especially rely or ground his discourse or project. There is a rule given long ago by a better author[a] for interpreting sacred writ, no way dissonant unto this advice of his. *Finis discendorum optima ratio dictorum*, the end or scope at which sacred writers (in their disputes especially) do aim, is the true μετρὸν or standard by which their particular sentences or discourses must be measured, the only right way for finding out the true and literal meaning of what they say. The non-observance, or want of taking these rules into consideration, hath been the special occasion why St. Paul's Epistle to the

[a] Greg. Magnus.

Romans hath been, of all other portions of scriptures, the worst interpreted by most that have undertaken to comment upon it. But of the main principle or scope of that epistle I have elsewhere written[b], and shall, as God shall give opportunity, write or speak a great deal more.

2. The principal end or scope of St. Paul (or whosoever were the author of this divine Epistle to the Hebrews) was to prove that Christ Jesus, whom the Jews did crucify, was designed or destinated by God to be a priest, not after the order of Aaron, but of Melchisedec; and declared to be so designed by God's oath to Abraham, which was the first oath that God did vouchsafe to make that is extant upon any sacred record; though the contents of this first oath were more fully expressed in his oath unto David. The tenor or importance of both oaths, especially of that
973 unto David, are not any where mentioned or pressed upon the Jews in any part of the New Testament besides in this epistle, but in this epistle very frequently: first in the place before cited, Heb. v. 10, *He was called of God an high priest after the order of Melchisedec.* But the pressing of it further upon these Hebrews our apostle for the present forbears, for their dulness of hearing, ver. 1. But though they were for the present unfit auditors of such an high mystery, yet were they not such perpetually. The true reason why our apostle saith the things he had to say of Melchisedec *were hard to be uttered,* or *conceived by these hearers standing thus affected,* was

[b] In a Treatise upon Romans ix. 18, lately published by another without my consent or knowledge. My purpose was to have published another of the same subject upon ver. 16. of the same chapter, delivered by me in a sermon about twenty-six years ago, some few months before I wrote the other.

not (as a late writer before mentioned conjectures) because this Melchisedec who met Abraham was the Son of God, then appearing in the likeness of man; for this was a point easy to be uttered, and easy to be conceived, if it had been any part of our apostle's meaning: but of what he had to say, and hath spoken at large in the seventh chapter of this epistle, these his scholars were not capable, at least he saw would not be attentive to his lesson, until he had given them a sharp though moderate correction, which he doth from ver. 12. of chap. v. unto ver. 9. of chap. vi. Ready they were, as is evident from our apostle's admonition, to revolt from the Christian faith unto Judaism, and to fall into that irremissible sin which he there describes. Now to recall men prone to vice or sin, there are but two ways; the one, by manifesting the danger of the relapse; the other, by ministering comfort or assurance of happy success in that course of life which hath been commended by the physicians of their souls unto them. The dreadful estate into which they were without his directions ready to fall, is discovered to them in most pathetical expressions from ver. 4. of chap. vi. to ver. 9: *For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame. For the earth which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God: but that which beareth thorns and briers is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing; whose end is to be burned.*

These passages shew the dangerousness of their disease to whom he wrote his epistle, and that they stood in need of extraordinary physic. The comfortable preparative for the making of them capable of a most sovereign receipt followeth, vv. 9, 10: *But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak. For God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have shewed toward his name, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister.* Here were a text of excellent use (were it warily handled) for restoring such men as, after their recovery from atheism, infidelity, or heresy, fall into a relapse as bad as these, as into an apostasy from the faith, (sometimes sincerely professed by them,) into libertinism or profaneness; as fit a theme as any I have observed in sacred writ, to encourage all men, of what sort or condition soever, professing Christianity, to the constant practice of good works, especially of charity.

3. For albeit the works of charity which the Hebrews had done, could not, albeit the best works which we now living can do, can no ways merit any degree
974 of grace, or make us worthy of the gift of repentance; yet by good works we become more capable of God's mercies, of his longsuffering, or forbearance to punish us after the same manner or measure that he doth presumptuous sinners: οὐ γὰρ ἄδικος ὁ Θεὸς, ἐπιλαθέσθαι; this is as if he had said, 'The God whom ye Hebrews (now converted to Christianity) serve, *non est Dominus adeo durus*[e], is not so rigorous a Judge, but that whilst he weighs your later or present transgressions in the legal scale of justice, he will put your former

[c] Or *inequitable*, for the word ἄδικος refers to *justitia universalis*, which comprehends clemency or benignity, as well as legal justice.

deeds of charity into the scale of mercy.' But leaving the full discussion of this passage to professed commentators or controversy-writers, although we shall prize good works, or deeds of charity, at the lowest rate which our apostle in this place sets upon them, that will amount unto as much as some learned fathers have said, *Sunt via ad regnum non causa regnandi;* "They are the way to heaven, or means to obtain full assurance of hope here on earth," for so our apostle presseth his exhortation to them, vv. 11, 12, &c.: *And we desire that every one of you do shew the same diligence to the full assurance of hope unto the end: that ye be not slothful, but followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises. For when God made promise to Abraham, because he could swear by no greater, he sware by himself, saying, Surely blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee. And so, after he had patiently endured, he obtained the promise.* So that patience in doing good works to our loss, or in suffering wrong from others, are good works or qualifications prerequired to our firm apprehension of God's most free and gracious promises.

4. There is first an assurance given by God unto Abraham, and in him to the heirs of promise: secondly, there is an assurance of hope in some, and ought to be in all men; and this consists first in the right apprehension of the assurance given by God, and in a well grounded belief or persuasion of our interest in the promise conveyed unto us from God by Abraham. The right apprehension of the assurance given by God must be in the understanding or brain; the true belief or persuasion of our interest in this promise, is but the ingrossment of our former apprehension in our hearts. How this belief or assurance of hope must be

wrought or confirmed, comes after to be discussed: of this only we are in this place to forewarn the reader, that he must not begin his belief or persuasion backwards, or the wrong way, that is, not to make that πληροφορίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος (whereof the apostle speaks) the first part of his creed. For to arrive at this point of belief, or degree of hope, is that τελειότης, or *perfection*, unto which our apostle sought by degrees to conduct these Hebrews, who had been truly converted to the Christian faith, and had continued till this time true believers in their kind; men better catechised in the first principles of belief than any man now living is, for they had an apostle for their catechist, as appears from the first verse of the sixth chapter. The only way to attain unto this *perfection*, or *assurance of hope*, is to follow the footsteps of such as inherit the promise, or had a firm and true apprehension of their interest in it whilst they lived here on earth. Thus much is implied in the forementioned exhortation of our apostle, verses 11, 12.

5. The assurance given to Abraham, and in him to all that follow his footsteps, is on God's part as full and absolute, as almighty power could make it, for it
975 is a promise confirmed by oath, and by the most solemn oath that could be administered or made: for God sware by himself, who is the greatest of all that either God or man can sware by. There could not be either a greater power, or any other so great besides; yet even amongst men, who alway swear by some divine power or revenger of false oaths greater than themselves, an oath puts an end to all strife or controversy in law, as our apostle teacheth us, ver. 16. But in what times or in what cases this maxim is, or was most true, (for most true it is,) with the allowances of the circumstances for time and place, or in

matters determinable by oath, are questions proper to interpreters of law, whether judicial in the Jewish nation, or of laws established in other nations, at or before the time wherein the author of this epistle did write; who, as I should presume from this very allegation, besides many other reasons, was St. Paul: for I know no other of our Saviour's apostles or disciples (though most potent in scriptures) which had so much skill, either in the laws of the Jewish or other nations, as St. Paul had, being brought up at the feet of Gamaliel. For the better understanding of this our apostle in the last forecited verses, or at least for occasioning others to search deeper into his meaning than many interpreters or plausible preachers usually do, it will not be amiss to premise somewhat concerning the nature of oaths, or their ancient use amongst men, before we come to explicate the tenor of God's oath, and the covenant made by it unto Abraham.

CHAP. XIII.

The Use of Oaths and their Observance is from the Law of Nature. Of the Manner of taking solemn Oaths amongst the Ancients of several Nations.

THOUGH all men in former ages were not acquainted with the true God, by whom all ought to have sworn—though some transformed the Deity into the similitude of beasts—though some directly acknowledged no God at all, no Divine power; yet even in the very worst of these, the smothered seeds of religion did give some crisis of their inherence in matter of oath or imprecation. The ingraffed notion of the Deity upon provocation or occasion of swearing, found always some, though often a preposterous or sinister vent. Even such stupid tyrants as thought no power so great as

their own, such as did pick deadly quarrels with their vassals for not swearing by their genius, did use to swear, not (as God here doth) by themselves, or by their own power, but by such creatures as did command their desires or affections; for their consciences secretly suggested to them that these were greater than themselves. And it is no marvel if this honour of invocation, which is due only to the true God, were by godless persons ofttimes tendered to those things which they loved or admired most, because these were in truth and deed to them as gods. Caligula used to swear by Drusilla; sometimes by that horse which he caused to be fed in as lordly a plate as any that came unto his
976 own table, and which he had destinated to be his fellow consul. It seems this was a bonny beast, whereas he himself was an ugly monster amongst men. The emperor Claudius (as Suetonius tells us) *conversus in officia pietatis jusjurandum neque sanctius neque crebrius instituit quam per Augustum;* "did not swear so often, nor hold any oath so strict as to swear by his predecessor Augustus." And Junius Brutus, as a good author tells me, did use to swear solemnly by the blood of Lucretia. The most solemn oath among the Pythagoreans, a devout and religious sect of philosophers, was *per ternarium*, the number of *three*. The reason, I take it, was, because this number was to them as the mystery of the blessed Trinity is to us. Some heathens (as the Egyptians) did sware by herbs, by beasts, or lifeless elements, because they misconceived some divine power to have peculiar residence in them or about them. And some, no evil princes, did swear, or authorize others to swear, by their sceptres, because they took these as emblems of divine power. Others sware by the parts of their own bodies, as by their hearts, &c. Yet these were directly

and formally rather imprecations than oaths, yet *oblique*, or *implicite juramenta*, (as the lawyers speak,) *collateral* or *connotative* imprecations of divine power, to whom the execution of vengeance upon themselves (or upon the parts of their bodies) if they swore falsely, did in their opinion properly belong. But whatsoever was the direct and formal object of judicial oaths, their outward form of solemnity was always or for the most part accomplished, *tangendo altaria*, or *elevatis manibus*, or both ways:

> Præsenti tibi maturos largimur honores,
> Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras,

saith the poet of Augustus[c]. And the Grecian which gave first occasion to the proverb, *Amicus usque ad aras*, implied his readiness to tell some such smooth tale or officious lie for his friend's good, as he durst not avouch if he were called to touch the altar. This was the custom, it seems, in those ancient times wherein Moses lived. *Moses built an altar, and called the name of it Jehovah-nissi: for he said, Because the Lord hath sworn* (or, as some read it, *Because he hath lifted up his hand,*) *he will have war with Amalek from generation to generation.* To *lift up the hand*, or *touch the altar*, (one or both of them at least,) was, as much as the kissing of the book is to us, the principal formality or external character of a solemn oath: *Ergo is, qui si aram tenens juraret crederet nemo, per epistolam, quod volet, injuratus probabit*[d]? "Shall we then take his testimony by a letter without an oath for a just proof, whose oath, though he laid hold upon the altar, no man would trust?" To swear by the name or power of God, as a profound civilian[e] instructs us, is *de essentia juramenti*, the

[c] Hor. Epp. II. i. 15. [d] Cicero in Orat. pro Flacco. [e] Duarenus.

essence or form of an oath; but to kiss the book, &c. is *de consuetudine*, a matter of custom. *Intrepidos altaria tangere*, in Juvenal's construction, is all one as to make no conscience of an oath, the essential property of epicurean atheism[f].

2. We must not think our apostle's rule, *that an oath is to make an end of all strife*, to be defective or less universal than it makes show of, although it comprehend not epicures, nor take fast hold of atheists, because these are but equivocally men, or at the best they can be no better parts of any civil body or human society, than a broken link is of a chain. He that
977 makes no conscience of an oath, may make better assurance of his lands and estate than of his internal thoughts or affections, without which assurance there can be no true society amongst the sons of men. *Nullum vinculum ad astringendum fidem majores nostri jurejurando arctius esse voluerunt*, saith Tully. But an oath assertory, not by Roman constitutions only, but by divine law, is a kind of civil rack, to constrain men to confess the truth concerning matters present or past, in cases expedient for the maintenance of human society. And an oath promissory, or *de futuro*, is God's wrest to fasten our souls unto the truth professed by us for the performance of good duties. With this latter use, the usual etymology of the word *oath* in Greek hath some affinity: for they would have the word ὅρκος to be of the same progeny with ἕρκος, "Because he that sweareth is tied or bound to those points which he acknowledgeth or confesseth." Yet many of the ancient etymologers would have the word ὅρκος (in the Grecian language) derived from ὅρος, *terminus*, unto which derivation our apostle

[f] See the fifth Book of these Comments upon the Creed, sect. 1.

(as some divines conjecture) doth allude, when he saith that an oath is πέρας ἀντιλογίας, *an end* or *term of all controversies.* This, as I dare not deny, so I would not, nor perhaps would the authors or abettors of this opinion, ground the strength of our apostle's argument so much upon the grammatical signification or etymology of the word ὅρκος, as upon the real exposition or civil use of it in legal customs and constitutions of most nations concerning like cases to that mentioned by him; as in matters of trust or contract betwixt man and man, without any other witness than themselves. For so the Lord (by whom we ought to swear) had enacted it, Exod. xxii. 10, 11: *If a man deliver unto his neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep; and it die, or be hurt, or driven away, no man seeing it: then shall an oath of the Lord be between them both, that he hath not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods; and the owner of it shall accept thereof, and he shall not make it good.* The like law or constitution was sometimes of like force in Egypt[g]: *Bochoridis leges,* saith Diodorus, *mandabant ut si quis pecuniis mutuo acceptis absque syngrapho se debere neget, interposito juramento a debito absolvatur:* "That if monies committed to trust without specialty or mutual writings should be denied, the controversy should be ended by the defendant's oath;" and he

g Προστάττουσι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀσύγγραφα δανεισαμένους ἂν μὴ φάσκωσιν ὀφείλειν ὀμόσαντας ἀπολύεσθαι τοῦ δανείου, &c. Primum ideo, ut jurisjurandi religionem magni facientes, Deum revereantur. Cum enim manifestum sit, quod sæpius dejerans fidei jacturam faciat, ne emolumento illo privetur, maximopere cavebit unusquisque ne adjuramentum deveniatur. Deinde et hoc cogitavit legislator si fidem in vitæ integritate constituat totam, cunctos ad morum probitatem invitatum iri, ne tanquam fide indigni infamentur. Iniquum præterea judicabat, quibus citra juramentum fides habita esset, his de eodem contractu juratis fidem denegari. —Biblioth. lib. 1. de Ægypt. Legibus.

gives this reason for the equity of this law: "Why should not the judge or law give as much credit to any man's oath, forasmuch as another commits to his trust without any assurance at all, or without any better assurance than the creditor's oath?" The like esteem did the Grecians make of the pretended debtor's oath in like controversies. When Cydias, an host of Tenedos, denied the charge of money delivered unto him by Archetimus of Erythræa, his ancient friend and guest, the matter after some altercation of words was referred to oath; now albeit Cydias' conscience did serve him to deal unjustly, yet it grudged to swear directly a gross untruth; and to stay the muttering of it with some shadow of truth, that is, with plain equivocation, he feigns himself so sick and crazy against the day of final hearing, as if he stood in need of a staff, into which (being made hollow on purpose) he cunningly stuffed up the gold, about which the con-
978 troversy grew: being called to his oath, which was to be *elevatis manibus*, with hands lifted up, he committed his staff to the custody of Archetimus the plaintiff, and thus proceeds: "'It is true,' saith he, 'that my friend Archetimus delivered so much gold unto me, but, by the oath which I have taken, I have delivered the same sum unto him again.' This oath, though to Archetimus's knowledge altogether false, had by the customs of that time and place made a full end of the controversy to his loss, which he perceiving, threw down the staff with such indignation to the ground, that the handle bursting, the gold which he trusted unto him fell out. And thus the providence of God," saith mine author[h], "saved Archetimus harmless; but Cydias (as men say) came to a fearful end."

[h] Stobæus de Perjurio, pag. 198.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Oaths promissory, specially for Confirmation of Leagues, and of the fearful Judgments that usually fall upon them who wittingly and willingly violate them.

THE use of oaths amongst the Romans was somewhat more ample than all these instances imply, though how far it did extend I leave it to the determination of civilians. A very good civil lawyer tells me, (and his testimony is most consonant to our apostle's mind in this place,) *vetus fuit regula juris causam jurejurando decisam non retractari;* "that a cause or case of controversy decided by oath might not be traversed or recalled." Justinian's restraint of this ancient rule in some special and rare cases rather corroborates than impairs the indefinite truth or general validity of it; yet were not oaths assertory more authentic or of more validity in ancient times for ending controversies betwixt man and man, than oaths promissory (such as God's oath in this place is) were for maintaining public peace, or confirming leagues betwixt nation and nation. The examples of heathen, as well as of sacred princes or generals, (so we would follow them,) teach us not to retract any thing that we have sworn unto, nor to delay performance of any thing which we have promised by oath, albeit the conditions in some cases prove such in the issue, as we would not have subscribed unto them at any hand, had we known them in others, such as we ought not to have subscribed unto. When Alexander the Great (a prince otherwise too rash and furious in executing his rigorous designs) perceived that the Lampsaceni (open rebels in his interpretation) had entertained Anaximenes, his father's old acquaintance, to plead for

their pardon, fearing that this smooth-tongued orator (if he should permit him to speak his mind at large) might somewhat mitigate the rigorous sentence pronounced against them, upon the orator's first approach into his presence, takes a solemn oath by the gods of Greece, that he would do quite contrary to whatsoever he would request on the behalf of the Lampsaceni. "Then," said Anaximenes, "it will little boot me to be long in my petition, which in brief shall be this; 'That you would captivate their wives and children, destroy their city, and set the temples of their gods on fire.'" Now albeit this boisterous king had steadfastly
979 purposed to do as much as the orator's words imply, and had interposed a solemn oath to confirm his purpose, yet his oath being by the orator's cunning retorted, his former resolution did relent, and yield unto the orator's first intended serious request. And in memory of this great controversy between this great prince and his rebellious subjects, or revolted confederates, thus happily ended by a retorted or inverted oath, the orator had an Olympic statue erected to him by his clients[i].

2. Thus to save this city with its inhabitants could not be more prejudicial to Alexander's former oath or resolution, than it was to Joshua to make peace or league with any Canaanite; for God, whose general he was, had given him express command to the contrary: yet inasmuch as that strict commandment given by God was only particular to this purpose, the neglect of it, especially upon ignorance of circumstances, was evil only because forbidden, and only so far evil as it was forbidden. But inasmuch as an oath is the most sacred bond in human society, the breach of it is not only evil because forbidden, but therefore forbidden

[i] Pausanias, lib. 6. hoc est Eliacor. 2.

because in itself so evil. Whence though it were unlawful for Joshua to make any league with the Gibeonites, being by nation and progeny Canaanites, yet inasmuch as they were men, the league once made with them, being confirmed by oath, might not be violated by him or any of his successors. The legal maxim in this case holds most firmly, *Fieri non debuit factum valet.* Although Joshua had formerly sworn to have continual war with the Canaanites, yet the interposition of this oath, upon a mistake that they were not Canaanites, must be ἀντιλογίας περὰς, an end of hostile quarrel between Israel and the Gibeonites: or if any haply should here reply that this league did *valere de facto,* was made valid more through Joshua's courtesy or scrupulosity of conscience, than by the law of nature, nations, or by any strict rule of equity, the severity of God's judgments upon the house of Saul, for violating this league which Joshua had made by oath more than four hundred years after he had made it, will convince him of error. Saul sought to slay the Gibeonites in his zeal to the children of Israel and Judah, 2 Sam. xxi. 2, but as if Israel had forfeited their estate in the promised land by breach of their former covenant, the earth for three years denied her increase, as it is ver. 1: nor could this famine be satisfied otherwise than by the flesh and blood of those men for whose sake the Gibeonites' blood had been unjustly spilt. For when David (being instructed of the Lord that the famine was sent to revenge their wrongs) demanded of the Gibeonites, (to whom the Lord now had given power of binding and loosing Israel,) *What shall I do for you? and wherewith shall I make the atonement, that ye may bless the inheritance of the Lord? they said unto him, We will have no silver nor gold of Saul, nor of his*

house; neither for us shalt thou kill any man in Israel. But the man that consumed us, and that devised against us that we should be destroyed from remaining in any of the coasts of Israel, let seven men of his sons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them up unto the Lord in Gibeah of Saul, whom the Lord did choose. vv. 3—6. *But David* (as it follows) *spared Mephibosheth,* (at whose life the Gibeonites did specially aim,) *because of the Lord's oath that was between them, between David and Jonathan the son of Saul.*

3. But here, lest such malevolent eyes or ears as Machiavel's, or Machiavelian politicians, should, by
980 looking upon, or hearing this story read, let in suspicion into their unhallowed hearts of some secret complot betwixt the Gibeonites and David for planting the sceptre of Israel in David's stock, by rooting out the whole stock of Saul, besides this impotent forlorn branch Mephibosheth, we may parallel this prodigious calamity with others like unto it, which in the observation of heathen writers have by the providence of God befallen other royal families for the perjury of their progenitors, albeit executed upon them by the hands of men. The difference will be only this, that David in the execution of God's fierce wrath upon the house of Saul did understand his commission much better than other executioners of God's like wrath did, who did nothing but what God would have done, but without just warrant.

4. Could kingdoms be surely founded upon their present strength and greatness, or states be made stand upright and firm by rule of secular policy, the likelihood was greater that the Macedonian kingdom should have continued in Philip's race, than the kingdom of Israel in the house of Saul. "Every man," saith

Pausanias[k], " will easily grant that this Philip for his achievements was the greatest king which Macedon had either before or after him: of princely virtues he had so many, and so well mixed, as few princes in any ages have enjoyed the like. What then did he want, why he might not be reputed in wise men's censure a good governor or commander? Only this, that he had his own oath at too great command. His perjury did spoil his politic projects whilst they seemed most to prosper, and ruinated the foundations of his intended monarchy as fast as he laid them; and, which is worst of all, his soul being infected with this foul sin, did propagate the rot unto the fruit of his body: as he had often deluded his gods, so the oracle, to revenge this quarrel, deluded him. The sentence of death which he expected the oracle should at his instance award upon the king of Persia, did seize upon himself in his best years, and amidst his triumphant jollities. Immediately upon his death, his infant son by Cleopatra was with his mother scorched to death in a vessel of brass, by the appointment of Olympias, unto whose cruelty another of his sons by a former wife within few years after was sacrificed. And as if their complaints and outcries against this unjust execution of a womanish wrath had been appointed or authorized to bring down God's more immediate judgments upon the remnant of Philip's seed, or his grandchildren, (which had more potent guardians in human possibility to shield them from human violence,) these were cut down by fates," or (as my author's words will bear it,) " by the destroying power."

5. And as for Alexander's untimely death, it is remarkable amongst children. It is an excellent epiphonema wherewith Pausanias concludes his discourse

[k] In lib. 8. hoc est de Arcadic.

concerning Philip's perjury: "If Philip," saith he, "when he laid his plots for erecting the Macedonian empire, had laid the Delphic oracle, given to Glaucus the Spartan, to his heart—'Ανδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀρείων, 'The posterity of men which make conscience of oath shall fare the better'—we should have no reason to suspect that any of the gods would have extinguished Alexander and the Macedonian glory, as it had been with one and the same breath of their displeasure." Now the oracle pronounced the sentence of untimely death upon the posterity of Glaucus the Spartan because he consulted it, whether he might
981 with safety forswear the pawn or deposition which the Milesians had committed to his fidelity: and when, knowing his doom, he sought the revocation of the sentence upon promise of full restitution, he only obtained this answer for his own and others' instruction: "To solicit or tempt God to abet or countenance perjury, and to be actually perjured, come both to one reckoning." If the reader suspect the authority of the oracle, upon presumption that all oraculous answers were inspired by devils, or discredit the story itself because related by Herodotus, as I may not join with him in raising needless suspicions, or too large imputations against one or other, so I will not request him to admit the relation upon any other terms than as an emblem of divine truth.

6. That which this emblem represents as *vero simile* was remarkably fulfilled in Jehoiakim and Zedekiah: both of them had deserved death and deposition for their other sins; but that which moved the Lord to write these two principal stems of David childless among the families of Judah, was falsification of their oaths to Nebuchadnezzar. Zedekiah had God's special promise that he and his house should live, upon

condition he would submit himself (as by oath he was bound) unto the king of Babel; but slighting his oath till time was past, and not submitting himself to Nebuchadnezzar till he was caught, his sons were slain before his eyes. And no sooner had this tragical spectacle found entrance into his troubled soul, but the windows by which it entered were shut up; that so having no possibility of vent for grief, it might reflect more vehemently upon his pensive heart, and be such a perpetual torment to his restless fancy, as an earwig is to the brain into which she hath crept. I will conclude these instances concerning oaths promissory with his verdict who was able to make the induction good: *Si quis omnem antiquitatem et bellorum memoriam ab ultimo principio repetat, profecto reperiet eorum qui pactas violarunt inducias, miserrimos exitus et civitatibus ac populis calamitosissimos extitisse*[1]: "He that would take pains to search records of antiquity or memorials of war from the first beginning of histories extant, shall clearly find that the violation of leagues or solemn truces hath brought a miserable end upon trucebreakers, whether private persons or public states."

7. One part of his instance or induction he took from the league betwixt Henry the Second, French king, the landgrave of Hassia, Maurice of Saxony, and Albert of Brandeburg; violated first by Maurice, and afterward more shamefully by Albert of Brandeburg. The noble historian and great antiquary of France[m], who had the articles of the league betwixt Philip of Spain, and (I take it) this Henry the Second, king of France, derives all the miseries and calamities which befell France in their intestine broils and civil wars, from the violation of this league on the French

[1] Bodinus, lib. 5. pag. 964. [m] Thuanus.

king's part, whereunto he was tempted by the pretended infallible Roman oracle, upon a dispensation with his oath proffered unto him, not sought by him. So much worse was the spirit of this Roman oracle than the spirit which guided the Delphic oracle in the answer to Glaucus the Spartan before mentioned. The like dispensation of the pope with an oath of contract did set the rebellion in the north[n] on foot, and was the cause of the calamity or misery which befell him and his family who sought for it, and others of his associates.

8. And no marvel if God in this case be severe to visit the sins of fathers upon the children, as well as
982 in the case of idolatry. For of these two sins, perjury, or wilful breach of solemn oath, is the more abominable, though I know not whether I should account them two sins, or several branches of one sin; or whether were worse, utterly to deny the truth of God's being or his omnipotency, or to produce him as a witness or countenancer of that which is untrue. The truth of God's being and his justice being presupposed or believed, it stands with reason what Bodin hath observed, "that perjury should bring forth destruction and calamity, whether to public states or private families, in greater plenty than any sin whatsoever." Other enormities always deserve God's wrath, and in the issue bring it upon offenders; but perjury only is conceived and brought forth by soliciting or imploring God's wrath or vengeance upon such as commit it. But some will here demand, 'What is all this which hath been said concerning the sacred use of oaths amongst men, and the plagues executed upon such as violate those sacred oaths, to the oath which God interposed to Abraham, or to their assurance which rely upon him?' Much

[n] About the tenth of queen Elizabeth.

every way: for the special, if not the only reason why God's hand hath light so heavy upon all perjured persons, is, because God himself, who vouchsafeth to swear to Abraham for our comfort, is so true in all his promises, and so unpartial in awarding justice, that he would not punish men's neglects or contempt of solemn oaths so severely as usually he doth, were he not beyond comparison or comprehension more observant of his oath when he swears by himself, than we are of our oaths which we take in his name. Briefly, albeit some in this age among the most zealous professors of Christianity escape his visible punishments, or sometimes prosper better in worldly estate for their perjury than many amongst the heathen did, yet by this practice they forfeit their interest in the assurance which God made by oath unto the heirs of promise. Every one that hopes to be blessed with faithful Abraham, or to be partaker of the blessing promised by oath unto him, must in this particular be perfect as his heavenly Father is perfect. Every one that hath been tainted with this foul sin, how great a gainer soever he be by it in worldly courses, must purge himself from it by the solemn proper acts of faith, that is, by true repentance, almsdeeds, and full restitution of accursed gains to the parties whom he hath wronged: *for* (as our apostle tells us) *every one that hath this hope*, that is, to be the son of God with faithful Abraham, *must purify himself, as he is pure*, 1 John iii. 3.

CHAP. XV.

In what Cases solemn Oaths were or are to be taken and administered.

AMONGST others truly instyled *golden verses* of Pythagoras, every verse containing some one or other

moral rule of good life, this was a principal one, ΣΕΒΟΥ ΟΡΚΟΝ.

1. The comment or paraphrase of an heathenish writer, though a professed enemy to us Christians, at least to such as lived in his age, is very Christian, as many other parts of his commentations upon Pythagoras' moral rules are (to use the words of that learned French civilian Tiraquel) most divine.

983 2. Whilst I revise these and the former observations of the heathen concerning oaths, and consider how exactly parallel they are to the sacred rules of God's written laws and cases determined by divine justice, I cannot but resume the prophet Jeremiah's wish or prayer, *O that my head were turned into a well* or *fountain, that I might weep day and night for the sins of this people!* And of this age, wherein a man may more safely believe a Turk swearing by Mahomet, or a canting beggar by his Solomon, or a rude pitman or coalworker by spitting upon a coal, than many witnesses who bear the name of gentlemen and good Christians, whilst they swear in courts of justice by the Lord God of their salvation, kissing the book wherein their interest in the promises made to Abraham, and their hopes of the life to come, are contained. Nor is this the fault of false witnesses only, but of lawmakers or interpreters, or of men in authority, that a man may be sworn out of his inheritance, out of his livelihood and good name, by one uncatechised clown or atheist, who neither knows by whom nor unto what he swears, ready at all times to lend that which he hears called an oath unto his friend or brother in mischief. An oath being a special part of religion, it were to be wished it were never to be administered or exacted by such as give more proof to shew their authority and power in being enabled by

human law to give it, than either of their desire or ability to instruct the party swearing unto what he ought, unto what he ought not to swear, or in any other principal point of religion. Many cases are often determined by one man's oath, which are not possible to be proved by the oaths of any ten men living, though men of life and manners unsuspected. And yet in case the person swearing to his neighbour's utter undoing might be convicted of wilful perjury, the best remedy that the law or custom affords him will prove much worse than the disease itself; that is, beget a tedious suit in some costly court. But neither did the primeval church of God nor the ancient laws of heathen nations admit of any such custom. Exceptions against lewd persons or suspected witnesses were admitted before they were permitted to swear; or in case any were detected to swear falsely, the detection was without any great cost, and the punishment severe and speedy. In case a man had sworn falsely against his neighbour in matter of debt, he was, besides other punishments, to pay as much as his neighbour should have been damnified by his oath[o]. In case of infamy and slander, he was adjudged to undergo the same punishment which his oath, had it been admitted, would have brought upon the party accused. If he had sworn against another in a matter capital, his perjury was punished with death, and so were false accusers, albeit they did swear or accuse on the behalf of the prince or emperor. One of the best catechisms that I dare commend unto such as have power to minister solemn oaths, or unto such as are bound to answer upon oath, or ready when occasions require to inter-

[o] Vide Duarenum in tractatu de Juramento.

pose oaths voluntary, is the comment of the forecited philosopher upon that golden verse of Pythagoras—

JUSJURANDUM COLE.

Fuerit autem cultus ejus servandi optima ratio et cura, si eo nec frequenter utaris, nec temere, nec quibuslibet in rebus nec[p] *ad sermonis amplificationem, nec ad narrationis confirmationem atque fidem,* 984 *sed quantum fieri potest, rebus tantum necessariis simul atque honorificis adhibeatur, eoque tempore cum nulla salus alia quam ex sola jurisjurandi veritate expectatur. Invenient vero fidem isthæc apud eos qui audiunt, si congruum jurijurando modum adhibuerimus, sique suspicionem omnem non iis solum qui juramento abstinent, sed qui utuntur etiam sustulerimus, quicquam in mortalium rebus veritate majus nobis haberi*[q].

God's oath, at all times when it pleased him to swear, was a voluntary oath; no authority could exact of him. But how free or voluntary soever his oath to Abraham was, it was not *gratis dictum*, but interposed to some good use or purpose. The special uses or purposes of this first oath of God (which is upon record) come in the next place to be discussed.

3. It is on all sides agreed, that the article or matter unto which God did swear, was of great consequence and weight: for men ought not to make solemn oaths or protestations but in such cases, because they are commanded to be holy as he is holy. But can there be any case or business betwixt God and man of so great consequence that his sole word or mere promise might not suffice to determine it? His word in itself, no

[p] Μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρατυχοῦσι μηδὲ εἰς ἀνοπλήρωσιν λόγου.

[q] Hierocles, in secundum aureum Carmen Pythagoræ, p. 32.

doubt, is more firm and sure than all the oaths of men and angels. It is therefore, in the second place, presumed or granted by all good writers, that our gracious God confirmed this promise by oath, *ex abundanti*, for the support of men's infirmities, which too often measure the goodness of God and the fidelity of his promises by their own notions of goodness, or by their experience of such fidelity as is found in promises amongst good men. But albeit we may take surer hold of any man's word or promise than of his indefinite overtures or inclinations to do us good, yet a very honest man's word is no sheet-anchor for a wise man to rely upon in a violent storm. The fest sometimes may be sure and firm, when the cable is slender and weak; or the cable very strong, when the fest or anchor-hold is slippery. Hence ordinary promises or professions of real kindnesses by a tacit or implicit consent of most men, admit divers acceptions or dispensations, whereof solemn oaths are uncapable. In what terms soever ordinary promises or professions of kindnesses be expressed, their tenor is to be understood or construed with this proviso, *rebus sic stantibus*. Unexpected disaster, or rare mischance, is in common equity a sufficient release for nonperformance of that which was sincerely promised upon probable hopes of better means or abilities; or at least of the continuances of such means as the party had when he made promise. Many men, who will hardly strain their oaths for their life, will dispense with their honest words or good intentions, rather than subject themselves to any incompensable worldly mischief or remediless inconvenience, which may certainly follow upon the performances of what they promised: for this reason, every wise man must be more wary to what he swears than to what he promiseth. For

matter of promise concerns things temporal only, whereas he that takes a solemn oath, doth sequester his immortal soul and estate in the life to come into the hands of the Almighty Judge and Revenger of perjury. Hence was it that the noble Roman Regulus did
985 choose rather to return to the Carthaginians, resolving to endure all the tortures and pains that they could inflict upon him, than to violate the solemn oath which they administered unto him. And albeit the Carthaginians knew him to be a man for his fidelity and due observances of his promises as just and righteous as Rome had any; a man more faithful and true (if we believe ancient histories) than the Carthaginians ordinarily were: yet out of discretion and politic observance, they held it more safe to trust to Regulus upon his oath than upon his mere promise. No wise man or prudent statist unto this day will trust the best man living (over whose person or estate he hath no command or jurisdiction) in matter of greater consequence without a solemn oath. A grave civilian[q] observes, *Absque jurejurando alicui in fœderibus contrahendis confidere, est piscari in aere et venari in medio maris.*

CHAP. XVI.

God's Oath to Abraham was an Oath for Confirmation of the League betwixt them. Of the several Manner of Leagues.

Now God's oath to Abraham was an oath of league, a solemn confirmation of that covenant which God had entered with Abraham at the circumcision of his son Isaac. We may observe in the sacred story, that Abraham had first God's mere promise, and on that he faithfully relied, Gen. xii. 13, 14, &c. Afterwards

[q] Waremundus in Meditamentis pro Fœderibus.

this promise grew into a solemn everlasting covenant, signed on Abraham's part by the circumcision of himself and his son Isaac; and afterwards confirmed on God's part by solemn oath; and lastly signed and sealed by the bloody death of the only Son of God. For the reader's better conduct in the passages which follow, it will be requisite, first, to intreat briefly of the nature of covenants and leagues; secondly, to display the evangelical importances of the oath by which this league was first confirmed and afterwards renewed. The word *covenant* in our English is sometimes equivalent to that which the Latins call *pactum* or *conventum*, to wit, any contract or bargain wherein there is *quid pro quo*, somewhat given and somewhat taken. And in this sense every covenant or bargain is an act of commutative justice, wherein there is *ratio dati et accepti*, a mutual bond between the parties contracting upon some valuable considerations. A covenant of this rank there cannot any be properly said or imagined betwixt God and mere man, as Abraham was; for who can give any thing unto God which was not his own before by a more sovereign right and more peculiar title than it is or can be his that would take upon him to make God his debtor by deed of gift? And for this very reason the acutest schoolmen resolve us, that commutative justice cannot be formally in God. But when we read that justice is one of God's essential attributes, or when we say that God is truly and formally just, this must be meant of distributive justice, the balance of whose scales are *pœna* and *præmium*, matter of punishment and matter of reward. For God as a just Judge doth truly and accurately render unto every man according unto all his ways, without any respect of any advantage, gain, 986

or profit, that can redound unto him by man's doing good, but merely out of his unspeakable love unto mercy itself, unto bounty itself, or unto justice itself. But though there cannot be such a *pactum* or covenant between God and man, between God and Abraham himself, as is a proper act of commutative justice, wherein there is *ratio dati et accepti*, (for Abraham had nothing to give unto God, from whom he had received all that he had, and from whom he did expect to receive his son Isaac, in whom the very covenant was to be established,) yet there may be between God and man, and there was between God and Abraham, a true and proper covenant in another sense, that is, as much as the Latins call *fœdus*, a true or proper league of amity or association. And thus the word in the original, especially in Genesis xvii. 7, is to be taken.

2. This kind of league or covenant may be of two sorts: *fœdera iniqua quæ victores victis dabant*[r]; such as the conquerors would give unto the conquered, which was always upon unequal terms or conditions; and yet better for the conquered and weaker part to admit of, than to be altogether without league or security for their safety or protection: or they were *fœdera æqua*, leagues entered upon equal terms or condition, such as usually are the leagues between neighbour kingdoms, free states, or sovereignties independent each on other, especially if such leagues be made when the one hath the other at no advantage: and these leagues were of two sorts; either mutually defensive only, or offensive as well as defensive, as the Greeks say, Συμμαχίας καὶ ἐπιμαχίας; or as the Latins more fully express the nature of them, *Ut eosdem*

[r] Inter alios commentatores Strigelium in annum nonum in Justinum vide Victorinum belli Peloponnesiaci, pag. 134.

haberent et hostes et socios[s], that he which was a friend to one party should likewise be held a friend unto the other party included in the league: that he that should declare himself an enemy to the one party, should forthwith, and for so doing, be taken and reputed for an enemy unto the other party. Besides this mutual aid or assistance in times of war, one special end of leagues or association was, that one country might be relieved in their want, or pleasured in their prosperity with those blessings wherewith others abounded. This mutual intercourse or exchange of commodities between nation and nation, is alway cut off or much impaired in time of hostility or war: neither party can with security enjoy the good things which their own land affords, much less can they with safety be partakers of those commodities wherewith God hath blessed their enemies. And in case it so fell out, that a people rich in money or merchandise, but destitute of corn or wine, or other such necessaries, should fall at variance with those who were accustomed to supply their wants, their estate in the midst of their wealth was but miserable, and would enforce them to seek peace upon terms unequal. So we read, Acts xii. 20, *When Herod was highly displeased with them of Tyre and Sidon,* (a people for wealth inferior to none,) *they came to him with one accord, and, having made Blastus the king's chamberlain their friend, they desired peace.* What reason had they to become suitors for peace with him, against whom they had been able to have waged war, whom perhaps they were able to outmatch with number of men and weight of money? St. Luke gives the reason

[s] Vide Balthazar. Agal. lib. 1. de Jure et Officiis Belli, cap. 7. parag. 1. &c.

in the next verse: *Because their country was nourished by Herod's country.*

3. But infinitely more miserable than the forlorn estate of any one people can be, in respect of the most
987 potent and cruel adversary, was the estate of all mankind, whilst heaven and earth were at enmity. For albeit God in mercy suffered his sun to rise as well upon the unjust sons of Adam, as upon Adam in his integrity, yet were all utterly deprived of all commerce with the inhabitants of heaven: all were excluded from the tree of life, without whose fruit this bodily life which we lead here on earth, even whilst we live in greatest pleasure or prosperity, is but as a short walk or progress from the womb unto the grave; as it were from a prison to a place of torment or execution: reason we had to desire peace of heaven, and to become humble supplicants for that league or covenant whereof God here preventeth Abraham: reason we had to have sought this league, upon what terms or conditions soever. In respect of the parties which enter this league or association, it was a league of the former kind, *quod victores victis dabant.* God was our Lord by a higher title than the right of conquest, and we were worse than his meanest vassals, not his servants, but his condemned prisoners. It was in his power to have cut us off from all possibility of any league or amity, save only with hell and death, which we and our fathers had chosen for our confederates. And yet the conditions of this league wherewith God preventeth Abraham, (for he sought it at Abraham's hands, when Abraham did not seek it at his,) are conditions *æqui fœderis.* It is made upon as good terms or conditions as any league between free states and kingdoms independent was ever proffered

or performed. It is more than a league offensive and defensive; more than συμμαχίας καὶ ἐπιμαχίας. For this league is but a ratification of that promise which God hath made to Abraham, Gen. xii. 2, 3: *And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing: and I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.* And yet it is said, Gen. xvii. 19, that God would establish his league with Isaac, but with Isaac only as in the type, or as he was the pledge only on Abraham's part: for it is a thing not to be imagined, that the Lord in giving sentence of blessing and cursing would tie himself unto such strict conformity (as this promise imports) with the parties to be judged by him, as that he would bless all whosoever blessed Abraham, or that he would curse them that cursed Abraham or Isaac, or their seed in their own persons, or for their own actions. How then doth God perform this promise unto Abraham? Not in Abraham or Isaac's person, but in another seed of Abraham, of whom that is expressly avouched, Gen. xxii. 16, 17, 18, which in chap. xii. was implicitly, or avouched of him as he was indefinitely comprehended in Abraham's seed, or potentially contained in Abraham's person. *In thee* (saith God to Abraham, Gen. xxii. 18.) *shall all the families of the earth be blessed. By myself have I sworn,* (*saith the same Lord God,* chap. xxii. 16, &c.,) *for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son: that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies; and in thy seed shall all*

the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice. By Abraham's *seed* in this place he meant not Isaac, with whom this covenant was established, but another seed of Abraham, and another son of promise, in whom this covenant was to be accomplished. So our apostle interprets this place,
988 Galat. iii. 16: *Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ,* that is as truly the Son of God as the seed of Abraham, who is as truly and properly God as he is man. This interpretation of our apostle is grounded upon the matter or subject of the promise. For it is impossible that all the families of the earth, even Abraham himself and Melchisedec who blessed Abraham, should be blessed, either in Isaac or in Abraham's seed, either indefinitely or universally taken, or in any seed of Abraham who was not as truly God as man, or who was not that most high God in whose name Melchisedec blessed Abraham. In this seed, and by this seed, all the nations are blessed that shall be blessed. And whatsoever blessings any man or people receive from God, in him as he is the Son of God, or for his merits, they shall receive them by him, and through him, as he is the seed of Abraham and Son of man. And in this seed of Abraham this covenant here established with Isaac shall be performed according to the strict propriety or utmost improvement of the words or clause of the confederacy, or league offensive and defensive, between God and Abraham. Whosoever shall bless this seed shall be blessed of God: whosoever shall curse this seed shall be accursed by God; and not so only, but whomsoever this seed shall bless, them likewise God the Father shall bless: whomsoever this seed shall pronounce accursed, they shall

stand accursed (without revocation or appeal) by God the Father: for God the Father hath tied himself to conformity of sentence with this seed of Abraham. Unto whom this seed (now made King and Priest, and placed at the right hand of God) shall award this sentence, (which he will award as Judge to all that shall be placed on his right hand,) *Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world*, they shall be blessed by God the Father with everlasting and immortal bliss. And unto whom he shall pronounce that other sentence, *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels*, they shall stand accursed likewise by God the Father, by an irrevocable and everlasting curse.

CHAP. XVII.

The League between God and Abraham did eminently contain the most accurate Solemnities that were used betwixt Prince and Prince, or Nation and Nation.

As this league here mentioned betwixt God and Abraham was for its conditions of the highest rank of league, *ut eosdem haberent et hostes et socios*; so it was as solemnly concluded and subscribed unto by both parties as any league betwixt man and man was ever concluded and solemnized. Albeit the manner of concluding or making leagues of amity betwixt man and man, or people and people, was in ancient times (specially amongst the eastern nations) most formal and remarkably solemn; and the manner or solemnity did vary or differ according to the variety of customs usual amongst diverse nations. The Macedonians for confirmations of leagues with others, did divide a quantity of bread between the parties consociating, giving 989

the one half to the one party, and the other to the other. So Xenophon describes the solemn league of amity between Alexander the Great and Cohortanus. And though Xenophon expresseth it not, it is very probable that they used such solemn imprecations as were usually made in other leagues concluded with the like solemnity or sacrifice; and that was, that so God would divide or smite him or them that should break the league, or violate the conditions agreed upon, as they did divide the bread, or smite the sacrifice by which the league was concluded. Other leagues of amity or association (as the same Xenophon[t] tells us) were concluded between party and party, which had formerly been at variance and hostility, by mutual delivery of the same weapons, as of lances, pikes, or other offensive weapons, now consecrated by this solemn delivery to be instruments or pledges of peace, or not to be used save in their mutual defence, or in offence to them who should prove enemies to their mutual peace. But those leagues were more solemn which were concluded with blood, either of the parties which entered league, or with the blood of beasts sacrificed for making peace between men. So Tacitus[u]

[t] Interrogante illo, respondent se Macrones esse, quære igitur inquit Xenophont. cur aciem adversus nos instruxerint, et cur hostes nostri esse velint? Respondent illi, Quia vos etiam nostrum solum ingressi estis. Et responderi duces jubent, id non eo factum, ut vos ullo damno afficiamus, sed posteaquam adversus regem bellum gessimus, redire jam in Græciam cupimus, et ad mare pergere. Quærunt illi num de eo fide data sibi cavere velint; velle se Græci et dare fidem et accipere inquiunt: post hæc Macrones hastam barbaricam Græcis tradunt, et ipsis Græci vicissim Græcam, quod hoc pacto fidem dari apud se dicerent.—Lib. 4. de Expeditione Cyri, p. (267.) 340.

[u] Qua necessitate Mithridates diem locumque fœderi accepit, castelloque egreditur. Ac primo Rhadamistus in amplexus ejus effusus, simulare obsequium, socerum ac parentem appellare. Adjicit jusjurandum, non ferro, non veneno vim allaturum: simul in lucum propinquum trahit, provisum illic sacrificium

tells, it was the custom amongst some eastern kings, when they entered a league, to clutch their hands and fingers, and to tie their thumbs so hard, until the blood did rise in the pulp or fleshy part, and afterwards to let them both so much blood by a gentle touch, that each party might suck other's blood: *Id fœdus arcanum habetur quasi mutuo cruore sacratum:* "This kind of league," saith Tacitus, "was accounted sacred, as being confirmed by mutual blood." But how sacred or secret soever this league was, (for the word *arcanum* importeth both,) it was *pro illa vice*, "for that turn," both openly and shamefully violated by Radamistus. Xenophon[x] likewise describes another league between the Grecians and the people of Asia, concluded by the blood of sacrifices which they mutually killed. The Grecians dipped their swords, and the Asiatics their lances, in the blood of the sacrifices, (which were a bull, a bear, a wolf, and a ram,) being first mingled together in a shield or target; as if they had sought to have made peace between these offensive weapons of war, by making them pledge each other in a common cup. For so the most solemn manner of plighting faith betwixt some nations was, for the one to take up the same cup from the other's hand, and to pledge him

imperatum dictitans, ut diis testibus pax firmaretur. Mos est regibus, quotiens in societatem coeant, implicare dextras, pollicesque inter se vincire, nodoque præstringere: mox, ubi sanguis in extremos artus se effuderit, levi ictu cruorem eliciunt atque invicem lambunt. Id fœdus arcanum habetur, quasi mutuo cruore sacratum.—Lib. 12. Annal. c. 47.

[x] Quumque armatorum acies instructa esset, Græcorum imperatores, et serierum ductores apud Ariæum conveniunt, et quum Græci, Ariæus, cum aliis apud ipsum dignitate præstantissima viris juramento confirmant, non prodituros se mutuo, sed in societate constanter permansuros, addentibus hoc sacramentum barbaris, sine fraude se itineris duces fore. Hæc sacramenta quum præstarent, aprum, taurum, lupum, arietem mactabant, Græcis gladium, barbaris hastam in scutum tingentibus.—Lib. 2. de Expeditione Cyri, pag. (217.) 276.

in it; or in case no cup or wine could be presently had, they were to lick the dust of the earth at each other's hands.

2. The manner of solemnizing this present league betwixt God and Abraham, at the first draught of it, was muchwhat the same with that which Tacitus reports of the eastern kings. It was solemnized on Abraham's part by the effusion of his own and his son Isaac's blood, and so continued throughout the
990 generations of their posterity, by cutting off the foreskin of their flesh. And inasmuch as circumcision was the sign or solemn ceremony of this mutual league between God and Abraham and Abraham's seed, it is necessarily implied by the tenor of the same mutual covenant, that God should subscribe or seal the league after the same manner, and receive the same sign of circumcision in his flesh which Abraham and his seed hath done.

3. This covenant, which was first entered by circumcision, was afterwards renewed on God's part, as on Abraham's part, by mutual and solemn sacrifice. The manner of God's treaty or process with Abraham in this covenant is worthy of serious observation; and Abraham's demeanour in all this business is the most lively pattern and most exquisite rule for all our imitation, who desire the assurance of faith or hope concerning our present or future estate in this gracious league or covenant. Though it be most true, (which hath been often intimated before,) that no man can deserve any thing at God's hand, because no man can give him any thing which he hath not received from him; seeing no man can bestow upon God, or convey unto him any title or right of propriety which he hath received from him, which God had not before man received it from him, or enjoyed it by him; yet if we

be content sincerely to renounce our own title or interest in the creatures which we have received from him, or in ourselves, (who are likewise his, whose very being is the free gift of his goodness,) he still rewards us for every such service, or act of our bounden duty, with a larger measure of his bounty than any deservings of man from man can pretend unto. And thus he rewarded Abraham always *in kind;* always according to the quality or specifical nature of his work or service; but for quantity far beyond all proportion of any gift or service which Abraham could present unto his God, though it had been the sacrifice of himself or of his son. The first remarkable service which God expressed or required of Abraham was, to forsake his kindred and his father's house, Gen. xii. 1. And in lieu of that interest which Abraham renounced in these, (those being not the ten thousandth part of the country wherein he lived,) God gives him a just title or interest to the whole land of Canaan, and promiseth to make a mighty nation of his seed; to erect more than one or two kingdoms out of it. And yet all this is but the pledge or earnest of a far better patrimony prefigured by it, and bequeathed with it as an inheritance conveyed by delivery of the terrar. The spiritual blessing enveiled under this great temporal blessing was, that God would be a God unto Abraham and to his seed, and that they should be unto him a people. And to be God's peculiar people was so much greater than to be lords and kings over the whole earth, as the temporal inheritance which God here promised Abraham (that was the whole kingdom of Canaan) was greater than the private temporal patrimony which Abraham for God's service had left in Chaldea or Mesopotamia.

4. The next service which God requires of Abraham

and his seed, that they might become more capable of his promise, and that this promise might *transire in pactum*, pass (as we say) into a league or covenant, was, that Abraham and his seed should circumcise the foreskin of their flesh; and by this ceremony or service they were consecrated to be God's people, his peculiar people. The reward which God astipulateth or pro-
991 miseth to this service or ceremony by them performed, was, that he would consecrate himself by the same ceremony of circumcision to be their God, their gracious Protector and Redeemer. But Abraham and his son Isaac being by this ceremony of circumcision once consecrated to God's service, they might not, after they had once received this badge or cognizance withdraw themselves from any service unto which their Lord God should afterwards call them, how harsh and unpleasant soever it might seem to flesh and blood. The next remarkable service whereunto God called Abraham, was to offer up his only son Isaac, whom he loved, for a burnt offering: and this service Abraham for his part is as willing to undertake, to be an actor in it, and Isaac as willing to undergo, or be a patient in it, as they had been in the former service of circumcision. The reward which God appointed to this second service of Abraham and Isaac, was the final ratification of the former promise or covenant by solemn oath: *By myself have I sworn, that in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.* The contents of his oath is, that God would make his only Son such a sacrifice as Abraham was willing to have made his only son Isaac, that in him and by him all the nations of the earth, that is, all of every nation that would so rely upon God's promises as Abraham and Isaac did, should be made heirs with them of the kingdom which God had promised, and that was the

kingdom of everlasting bliss. But of this particular the reader may see more in the eighth book of these Comments[y].

5. In this sacrifice of the Son of God and seed of Abraham, the league first solemnized by circumcision was, for the external rite or manner, more exquisitely solemnized than any league ever had been. The solemnities of all other leagues were eminently contained in it: for besides the rites before mentioned in solemnizing leagues concluded by sacrifice, each party had a priest, or *vates*, or else made choice of some indifferent priest for both. Each party likewise had their proper sacrifice, or (which would give better satisfaction to curiosity) they had one common sacrifice, in which both parties had equal interest, as being provided at their joint costs and charges, or the one brought a priest and the other a sacrifice. Sometimes again they had one common temple[z], either built of

[y] Chap. 30. parag. 3, &c.

[z] Isocrates in Oratione de Pace ait se spectatorem fuisse plurimorum bellorum in Græcia; confecit enim annos ætatis suæ pæne centum; sed re atque usu comperisse, omnium bellorum exitus tandem ad normam justitiæ congruere. Quanquam enim eventus qui antecedunt καταστροφὴν tanta in varietate sunt, ut sæpe cogant homines dubitare, utra causa sit melior, tamen finis declarat justitiam causæ victricem esse, deum oppressos injustis modis vindicare in veterem libertatem. Hujus regulæ duo exempla evidentissima in hoc tertio libro extant, atque eminent: unum de bello inter Lacedæmonios et Messenios, alterum de incendio universæ Græciæ, quod Peloponnesiacum vocatur. Vetus consuetudo fuit ædificare communia templa, atque in iis vesci rebus consecratis, quoties fœdera inter vicinos fiebant. Quare cum Lacedæmonii in Peloponneso vicini essent, communi templo extructo pacem inter se fœdusque extruxerunt. Sed quodam tempore adolescentes Messenii, jura divina et humana violantes regem Laconicum Teleclum ad communia sacra profectum interfecerunt et virgines Laconicas nobiles ad turpitudinem rapuerunt. Itaque Lacedæmonii juramento sese obstrinxere, non ante domum se reversuros quam Messenam solo æquassent, aut omnes certe occumbere velle morti: et si autem diu anceps Mars fuit, et dubia belli fortuna, (nam

purpose at their joint costs, (as some think Janus' temple in Rome was built by Romulus and Titus Tatius, for ratifying the peace between the Latins and the Sabins,) or else made choice of some temple most indifferently seated for both to meet in. All these circumstances were good emblems of the wished for peace; good emblems likewise of the equal conditions in such leagues agreed upon; and yet imperfect emblems, scarce good shadows, of the admirable
992 manner how this league of peace betwixt God and man was concluded. We cannot say that God had one priest and man another, but both had one Priest more indifferent than any two nations ever could have, though his father had been of the one nation, and his mother of the other, and himself born upon the sea betwixt them, or upon the bounds of their borders. The Priest between God and man was but one, and yet truly God and truly man; so truly one, that we cannot say the seed of Abraham or Son of man did provide the sacrifice, and the Son of God did offer it, but (which is more admirable and more indifferent) the flesh of this sacrifice was human, or man's flesh as truly and properly as ours is, and yet as truly and properly the flesh of God as ours is the flesh of man. The blood of the sacrifice likewise was *sanguis humanus*, man's blood as truly and properly as any blood in our veins is, and yet as truly and properly the blood of God as our blood is the blood of man. It was (as hath been heretofore observed[a]) human blood, or man's

Aristomenes dux Messeniorum, qui habuit cor hirsutum, sua manu trecentos Lacedæmonios trucidavit,) tamen Messena anno 19. a Lacedæmoniis capta et servitutis jugo tristissimo oppressa est.—Victorinus Strigelius in tertium librum Historiarum Justini, pag. 84.

[a] See the Seventh Book of Comments upon the Creed, chap. 30. parag. 10.

blood by nature, that is, of the same substance with our blood, and yet the blood of God by personal union or property, by a more peculiar title than the blood in our bodies can be said ours: for the Godhead is more nearly united to the manhood of Christ, than our souls are to our bodies. And by this personal or bodily habitation of the Godhead in his body, he who was our sacrifice, and continues a priest for confirming this league, is also become the temple. His body is become that tabernacle wherein God promised to meet the children of Israel. And unto the glory of the Godhead, which was before inaccessible, but now dwelling in this tabernacle, we have daily access through the blood of Christ. We may at all times, and in all places, present him in this tabernacle with the sacrifice of prayer, of thanksgiving, and of ourselves; and he from hence (as our God and Father) indues us with the Spirit of Christ, whereby we are made his sons. For the blood of Christ, as it is *sanguis humanus*, (human blood of the same nature with ours,) doth symbolize with our nature; and as it is the blood of God, in which the Godhead dwelleth personally, it is of force and virtue sufficient to purify and cleanse our sinful nature, and to make us partakers of the divine nature.

CHAP. XVIII.

What the Interposition of God's Oath for more abundant Confirmation of his Promise to Abraham did import, over and above all that which was included in the literal or assertive Sense of the League between God and Abraham.

LEAVING it to the learned professors of laws canonical, civil, or municipal, what special obligement a solemn oath induceth more than a mere covenant or

paction without an oath can require, our next inquiry must be, what the interposition of God's oath, first made to Abraham, and afterwards renewed with more express exemplifications unto David, did import, according to the characterical or emblematical sense.

993 This is a point of divinity often mentioned in this long work of Commentaries upon the Creed, and divers other of my meditations in my younger and better days; and the oftener intimated, because it hath been so seldom handled or thought upon by most commentators or controversy-writers, although in my opinion (continued ever since I began these Commentaries) it be the very key, without which there can be no lawful entrance into, no safe retire out of those usual debates, concerning election, predestination, or other positive points of divinity whereon the resolution of these doth most depend. Now the resolution of this point we are to learn, not from any practice of human courts, judicial or coercive, for determining pleas or controversies between party and party: for in all processes of this nature, the determination must be according to the literal, grammatical, and assertive sense of laws in this case provided, and of testimonies produced or exhibited according to law. The question now in handling with its decision depends much upon tradition, or received rules, (whether of ancient heathen, Jews, or Christians,) 'What oath, made either by the true and only God, or by the imaginary gods of the heathen, did import more than a mere promise or threatening.' To begin first with the ancient heathen.

2. Albeit that which the apostle saith of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, *that he had no greater by whom he could swear*, could have no place at least suitable to the estimation of the gods by which the heathens did swear or call to witness, yet when

Jupiter, the greatest god amongst them, was either provoked or voluntarily pleased to swear by such parts of this universe as were conceived to be his coequals, his full peers, if not his betters, it was generally presumed or believed that the doom or sentence so pronounced (were it blissful or dismal) was irreversible. For this reason the oath by Styx is called by Homer *ὅρκος μέγιστος*, *the grand* or *greatest oath.* But so called, I take it, by a synecdoche: for if Jupiter had sworn by Phlegethon, or by the Elysian fields, it had been all one as if he had sworn by Styx, or other parts of the infernal region; all or every one of which were in heathenish divinity more venerable than this middle visible region wherein we live:

> *Ἴστω νῦν τόδε Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν,*
> *Καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὅστε μέγιστος*
> *Ὅρκος, δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι*[b], &c.

Not Jupiter only, but Juno, in Homer's divinity, did hold the oath by Styx to be inviolable:

> *Ἄγρει νῦν μοι ὅμοσσον ἀάατον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ,*
> *Χειρὶ δὲ τῇ ἑτέρῃ μὲν ἕλε χθόνα πουλυβότειραν,*
> *Τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ ἅλα μαρμαρέην*[c], &c.

Such doom or sentences as the heathens accounted fatal, even the awards of the weird sisters themselves, (the conceived spinsters of fates and fortune,) did derive the necessity of their execution from interposition of some oath or other. And in case the fates or weird sisters had sworn the destruction of any nation or people, Jupiter had no authority to release the parties thus designed from destruction; but a power only to punish, *ultra condignum*, or beyond

[b] Hom. Odyss. ε'. 184. [c] Iliad. ξ'. 271.

the measure of punishment decreed by the weird
994 sisters or fates. A memorable speech, to this effect, a stately Roman poet hath put into Jupiter's mouth;

——— Vos o superi, meus ordine sanguis,
Ne pugnate odiis, neu me tentare precando
Certetis; sic fata mihi nigræque sororum
Juravere colus. Manet hæc origine mundi
Fixa dies bello populique in prælia nati:
Quod nisi me veterum pœnas sancire malorum
Gentibus, et diros sinitis punire nepotes
Arcem hanc æternam, mentisque sacraria nostræ
Testor, et Elysios, etiam mihi numina, Fontes,
Ipse manu Thebas correptaque mœnia fundo
Excutiam, versasque solo super Inacha tecta
Effundam turres, ac stagna in cærula vertam
Imbre superjecto; licet ipsa in turbine rerum
Juno suos colles templumque amplexa laboret.

The last clause of this pathetical oath bears a counterfeit or adulterate character of that solemn oath of the true and only God: *As I live, saith the Lord, though Coniah the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah were the signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence; and I will give thee into the hand of them whose face thou fearest, even into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of the Chaldeans. And I will cast thee out, and thy mother that bare thee, into another country, where ye were not born; and there shall ye die. But to the land whereunto they desire to return, thither shall they not return. Is this man Coniah a despised broken idol? is he a vessel wherein is no pleasure? wherefore are they cast out, he and his seed, and are cast into a land which they know not? O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord, Write ye this man childless, a man that shall*

not prosper in his days: for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah. Jerem. xxii. 24, &c.

3. With the Hebrew rabbins this tradition or received rule concerning the importance of God's oath is so authentic, as it makes them more peremptory in their resolution for the expiration of Solomon's line in Jeconiah, than most Christian interpreters upon that place have been, unless it be such as in this point follow them. Yet can I not persuade myself, nor conceive any suspicion, that either the Jewish rabbins should take their hints for thus interpreting the forecited or any other place of scripture wherein God's oath is interposed, from the divinity of the heathen: much less did the ancient poets or philosophers (who were the best divines the heathens had) borrow their fancies or conjectures from the Jewish rabbins, who were their punies; nor were the fathers of the Greek and Latin church the fathers or first authors of this catholic rule or tradition. All of them rather were beholding to the ancient Hebrews, or to Mosaical or prophetical writings, for such prenotions or confused apprehensions as in this subject they had. The consent of the ancient Christian writers or fathers, the diligent reader may find in their comments upon those places of scriptures wherein God's oath is mentioned, but especially in their comments upon psalm cx, from which place and the like, not they only, but our apostle, to my apprehension, in the sixth and seventh chapters to the Hebrews, took his directions: *The* 995
Lord, saith David, psalm cx. 4, *hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever,* &c. This, in the language of Canaan, and by consent of many fathers, is as much as if he had said, 'The Lord will not repent, or reverse his promise to me and my

seed, because he hath sworn that he should be a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.'

4. That God doth repent him, either of the evil which he denounceth, or of the good which he promiseth, is a phrase most usual in scripture; the true and punctual meaning of which phrase is, that God did change or revoke either his sentences of calamity or of good, which he in both cases truly intended, and irresistibly meant to put in execution. And all this he might do, and often did without any change or alteration in his will or intention; but always upon some change or alteration in the parties, either truly interessed in his promises, or liable to his heavy judgments: when the one party did change from good courses to evil, he was immutably free to reverse his promise, (as he himself somewhere speaketh,) to break his covenant. And when wicked men did turn from their wicked ways, he was as free and more willing to reverse sentences of woe, not only threatened, but decreed against them. This freedom in God is perpetually presumed or taken as granted by his prophets whensoever the promise, decree, or covenant is not revealed unto them with the seal of an oath. But the sentence, whether for good or evil, being revealed under oath, was in their judgment fully declared to be irreversible. For this reason the prophet sometimes wished the speedy execution of plagues threatened by God unto their own nation or kindred, as knowing it bootless either to intreat God's favour after his wrath against them was denounced by oath, or to solicit the fulfilling of his gracious promises towards their posterity, until his wrathful sentences confirmed by oath were put in execution. In one and the same chapter it is said oftener than once, that *God did repent him of making Saul king of Israel:* what is

the reason? He was made king without an oath, yet with sincere promise of continuing the kingdom to himself and to his seed, with this condition in the prophet's construction, implied though not expressed, *Si bene se gereret:* but when the prophet Samuel denounceth the sentence of deposition upon him, 1 Sam. xv. 29, *The Strength of Israel will not lie nor repent: for he is not a man, that he should repent:* the meaning is, that the Strength of Israel will not revoke his sentence[d] denounced by oath against Amalek and his associates; and Saul by sparing Amalek, *incidit in hanc sententiam*, doth fall under this sentence, though not as principal, yet as an accessory.

5. A true parallel to the history concerning the anointing and deposition of Saul, had been exhibited before by the same prophet in the election and deposition of Eli, who was possessed of the priesthood by legal title, under divine promise to himself and to his house. The promise we have 1 Sam. ii. 30, and the reversing of the promise, or blessing promised, in the same verse and verses following: *Wherefore the Lord God of Israel saith, I said indeed that thy house, and the house of thy father, should walk before me for ever: but now the Lord saith, Be it far from me;* 996 *for them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed. Behold, the days come, that I will cut off thine arm, and the arm of thy father's house, that there shall not be an old*

[d] Balaam had heard or known by vision, that the Lord had sworn to give the land of Canaan to the seed of Jacob, and hence he took up his parable in the same words that Samuel used to Saul: *Rise up, Balak, and hear; hearken unto me, thou son of Zippor: God is not a man, that he should lie; neither the son of man, that he should repent: hath he said, and shall he not do it? or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good?* &c. Numb. xxiii. 18, 19.

man in thine house, &c. This lamentable message was sent unto him by the man of God, mentioned ver. 27. The same sentence or curse upon him and his house is afterwards denounced by Samuel under oath: *And the Lord said to Samuel, Behold, I will do a thing in Israel, at which both the ears of every one that heareth it shall tingle. In that day I will perform against Eli all things which I have spoken against his house: when I begin, I will also make an end. For I have told him that I will judge his house for ever for the iniquity which he knoweth; because his sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not. And therefore I have sworn unto the house of Eli, that the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be purged with sacrifice nor offering for ever.* 1 Sam. iii. 11—14. Now when Samuel had imparted this fearful sentence unto Eli, being thereunto adjured, he replied no more than this, *It is the Lord: let him do what seemeth him good.* ver. 18. Had this message been delivered by that man of God which brought the former, not ratified by oath, unto this good old man, though an impotent governor, haply he would have slighted it, as it is probable he did the former, or have called the messenger's commission in question. But this latter and more terrible doom being delivered to him by a child, who for his maintenance and being did depend upon him as upon his foster-father; by a child so far from secular cunning, or sophisms of corrupt priests or Levites, that he knew not the voice of the Lord from the voice of his tutor, until he was instructed by him, his commission was to Eli more authentic, and his message both for matter and tenor more free from all suspicion of imposture. The answer of Eli is of the same alloy with Job's reply unto the sad news which his servants brought to

him: *The Lord*, saith Job, *hath given, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.* Job i. 21. Thus he spake after he had seen himself and his family utterly undone for worldly substance, deprived of all earthly contentment. Eli knew this sentence against him, being denounced by oath, as certain, and impossible to be reversed, as if it had been already put in execution: for this reason (I take it) the old man did think upon a more submissive answer unto Samuel, than he had vouchsafed unto the man of God, who was sent unto him upon the same errand. The humility and modesty of his answer persuades me that the fearful sentence denounced against him, did extend no further than to the irreversible deposition of him and his family from the legal or temporary priesthood, unto the poor and mean estate wherein his posterity after the disaster of his two sons were to live here on the earth. Nor have I (nor any man for aught I know) any warrant from God's word to say, and Christian charity forbids me to think, or from this place to conjecture, that either Eli himself, his two lewd sons, or his posterity, were absolutely, that is, irreversibly decreed from this time to everlasting damnation. Many decrees or sentences denounced by Divine oath may be and are absolutely irreversible, whenas the plague or matter of the curse denounced is only temporary, not everlasting, but to determine with the life of the party against whom it is denounced, or at the worst to his successors here on earth, it no way reacheth the state of the one or of the other in the life to come.

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CHAP. XIX.

Of the two Things wherein our Apostle saith it was impossible for God to lie.

THIS is our comfort; there is no curse nor woe denounced by oath throughout the whole scripture, which either in the assertive or characterical sense can be extended so far as the blessing sealed by oath to Abraham, and to all the heirs of promise. *So God, willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of promise the stableness of his counsel, bound himself by an oath;* so our former English reads. The latter thus; *Wherein God, willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath;* or (as the margin) *interposed himself by an oath;* but with submission of my verdict in this case to competent judges, there is somewhat more implied in the original, than either our English or Latin translations (which I have read) do express. Three or four words there are in this passage which are τεχνικὰ, or *solennia;* words of form, or peculiar to the faculty of theology. First, δεῖξαι is somewhat more than *to shew;* as much as *authenticly* or *solemnly to declare.* Secondly, τὸ ἀμετάθετον τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ imports a great deal more than *the stableness* or *immutability of his counsel.* For that God's will or counsel is as *he is*, most absolutely immutable, was a point so well known to Abraham, and to the sages of the heathen which lived after him, as it needed no solemn avouchment or declaration by oath: that God most immutably wills mutability in the works of nature, and in the government of this inferior world, as sometimes (though seldom) in the course of stars, and often in the erection or extirpation

of greatest kingdoms, or of royal or sacerdotal succession, was a point not doubted of by any that acknowledged there was a God. The mysteries in this place declared by solemn oath were these: *That the blessing before promised, and now first ratified by oath unto Abraham and his seed, not according to the flesh but the spirit, should not be only irreversible, but unchangeable—That the promised woman's seed should be one of Abraham's seed—That this seed, after his consecration to the office of blessing, should not be subject to any change or chance—That his kingdom and priesthood should be everlasting.* This last clause may be made more clear from the renewing and restraining of his glorious promise unto the seed of David, κατ' ἐξοχήν. Our former English hath two animadversions[e] upon this place, which are rather imperfect than erroneous. Again, what those two things were, ἐν οἷς ἀδύνατον ψεύσασθαι, τὸν Θεὸν, or what the importance of the word ψεύσασθαι is in this place, is a point not so fully determined by most interpreters, but that it is free for every later interpreter to conjecture or demur upon the point. Our English marginal note implies, that the two things in which it was impossible for God ψεύσασθαι, were his word and his oath; I should rather think, his promise made to Abraham, and his solemn oath made for the ratification of his promise. But whether we understand his word or promise, and his oath for ratification of either, they must be taken *conjunctim*, not *divisim*, not severally but conjunctively. For God's mere promise without an oath,

[e] The one, that God did interpose his oath because of man's wickedness, which will not believe God except he swear; the other, that the *two immutable things* mentioned here by our apostle were his word and oath.

though most sure in itself, is not so firm an anchor for poor men to rely upon in temptations, as his promise
998 confirmed by oath; nor doth the original ψεύσασθαι in this place imply any possibility or impossibility of lying, or unsincere dealing in God himself, but refers to the stability or unstability of the blessing promised. A blessing, whether of this life or the life to come, under mere promise, may be subject to contingency or change, because the promise itself (by reason of causes best known to Divine Wisdom) may be reversed, but a blessing promised by oath is exempted from all possibility of reversion, if it concern this life; or if it refer to the life to come, it must be, as that life is, not only irreversible, but also unchangeable, either for quality or degree of joy.

2. By the *two things* our apostle saith *it was impossible for God* ψεύσασθαι, that is, to suffer his blessing promised to Abraham and to the heirs of promise *to fail*, we may understand, without violence to the text or incongruity of sense, the oath itself, and the object of the oath, which was God himself. *He sware by himself*, saith the original, Genesis xxii. 16. the true meaning of which place is most elegantly expressed by our apostle, Heb. vi. 17: ἐμεσίτευσεν ὅρκῳ, *he interposed himself*, as our English noteth, or, word by word, *he mediated by oath;* thereby binding as well the person of the Son, who is ὁ μεσίτης, the *only Mediator between God and man*, as his own Almighty person. And this *merces magna* promised by God himself by oath, in the person of the Father and the Son, is most suitable to the obedience, not of Abraham only, but of Isaac, whom God (as it hath been observed before) did still reward in kind. But whatsoever the *two immutable things* in this place meant by our apostle were, it is evident that his oath was interposed

for the consolation and comfort of Abraham and his posterity; so the apostle tells us expressly, verse 18: *That by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us.* The sheet anchor of this strong hope or consolation is, first, the irreversibility of the promise; secondly, the immutability of the blessing promised; of which it is impossible that any such heir of promise as Abraham was when God vouchsafed thus to swear unto him, should either fail or come short. This I take to be the true meaning of that uncouth phrase, *wherein it is impossible for God to lie*, that is, to suffer the blessing promised to fail or change, or them to perish who are possessed of it by virtue of this covenant sealed by oath. Every thing in sacred dialect is called a LIE which is subject to mutability, hazard, or change; or on which one too much relying may be deceived, or fall into danger: so saith the psalmist, שקר הסוס לתשועה, *An horse is a lie unto salvation*[f]. The elegancy of which word in the original is well expressed by our Vulgar English[g], *An horse is but a vain thing to save a man.* But why *a lie*, or *vanity?* Because he that relies upon it too much, or more than upon God, may come to sudden destruction; according to the same dialect, that fest, or anchor-hold, unto which the Jews in storms of war or calamity did too much trust, to wit, *Templum Domini, Templum Domini*, were (as the prophet calls them) *lying words.* And no better are many men's persuasions of the absolute certainty of their own salvation, only because they believe in Christ alone, and seek unto no other mediators or intercessors. Indeed,

[f] Psalm xxxiii. 17.

[g] And by the Vulgar Latin as well, *Fallax equus ad salutem.*

if they believe in Christ as Abraham and Isaac and Joshua did in God, that is, if they follow the footsteps of these men, or rather the ways of God, wherein these
999 walked with a faithful and unfeigned heart, then their election is sure and firm in itself, although in many cases to them uncertain. But the principal meaning of our apostle is, that the blessing promised by oath unto Abraham is immutable and everlasting in the life to come; and this we are bound to believe, *certitudine fidei*, by assurance of faith without doubt. But whether we ourselves in particular shall be undoubtedly actual partakers of such salvation, we have no better assurance from this place, than the assurance of hope and strong consolation; for so it followeth: *This hope*, or (as Œcolampadius would have it) *this consolation, we have as an anchor of the soul, both firm and stedfast, and which entereth into that within the veil.* The implication is, that this hope is not of temporary blessings, but of everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord, now King and Priest in our nature of the celestial sanctuary.

CHAP. XX.

The former Importance of God's Oath to Abraham, and the Contents of it specified in the two immediately precedent Chapters, more fully confirmed by the Tenor of God's Oath to David and to his Seed, described at large by the Author of Psalm lxxxix, *most concludently by the Apostle, Heb.* vii.

ALL that which hath been observed out of the tenor of God's oath to Abraham is implied in the psalmist's paraphrase upon the same covenant renewed by special oath unto David, psalm lxxxix. That the author of this psalm should be David himself, no interpreter which I have read doth affirm, besides some few, and those of no great skill for interpreting scriptures, who think

that all these psalms were written by David himself. But this opinion may be clearly convinced, both from the matter and form of this psalm, besides the inscription: for if we should acknowledge David to be the author of this psalm, there will be no affinity betwixt the matter or subject of it, and the character or expression. Evident it is that the house and lineage of David were in great distress, and subject to grievous temptations of distrusting God's promises, at the time wherein this psalm was written. And he that will diligently peruse the sacred history from David's election or nomination to the kingdom of Israel, until the return of God's people from Babylonish captivity, or the death of Zerubbabel, will hardly find more periods of time than two, wherein the occasion or matter of this psalmist's complaint can have any cognation with his character or expression; which is a fundamental rule for all intelligent writers to follow, and most exactly observed by such as wrote by Divine inspiration. The two periods of time wherein this psalm can with probability be imagined to be written, are either from the death of good Josiah unto the Babylonish captivity, or (as my conjecture leads me) shortly after the foraging of Judah, and ransacking of Jerusalem, by Shishak king of Egypt, in the days of Rehoboam, after the departure of the ten tribes from Judah. The best determination of this doubt or query depends upon chronologies, or certain discoveries of the time wherein 1000
Ethan[h] the Ezrahite did live. The psalm itself (as the

[h] This Ethan the Ezrahite, as is most probable, did flourish in the latter end of Solomon's reign, and in the days of Rehoboam, and was esteemed in his age one of the wisest men after Solomon, 1 Kings iv. 30, 31: *And Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt. For he was wiser than all men; than Ethan the Ezrahite*, &c.

title sheweth) is a psalm of instruction, and begins with praise and thanksgiving, and ends with prayers and benedictions. As for the intermediate complaints, or seeming expostulations with God, as if he had forgotten his covenant made to David, these (I take it) are rather lively representations of the murmuring and discontentments of the people in that age, than true expressions of the psalmist's own apprehensions concerning the true tenor of God's promise unto David. For this is usual to most psalmists in time of calamity; a point which if the Spanish Jew or rabbin (mentioned by many good authors[i]) had considered, he would not have interdicted his countrymen or scholars to read this psalm.

2. But to come to the explication of this psalm itself, or the meaning of the Holy Ghost in it, after many ejaculations of prayers and thanksgiving, or recitations of God's mercy: *The Lord is our defence; and the Holy One of Israel is our king. Then thou spakest in vision to thy Holy One, and saidst, I have laid help upon one that is mighty; I have exalted one chosen from among the people. I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him*, &c. The text upon which he made this sublime and long paraphrase following is recorded 2 Sam. vii. 11, &c.: *And as since the time that I commanded judges to be over my people Israel, and have caused thee to rest from all thine enemies. Also the Lord telleth thee that he will make thee an house. And when thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build an house for*

[i] Bucer, Calvin, Coppen, &c.

my name, and I will stablish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be his father, and he shall be my son. If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men: but my mercy shall not depart away from him, as I took it from Saul, whom I put away before thee. And thine house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee: thy throne shall be established for ever. According to all these words, and according to all this vision, so did Nathan speak unto David. Divers passages, as well in this text as in the forecited paraphrase in the psalm upon it, have been literally verified; some in David, others in Solomon; but exactly fulfilled according to the mystical sense in David's seed by promise, unto whose person, and to no other, some few special passages according to the literal sense do refer. The next labour is so to distinguish betwixt these several passages, as that David and his son Solomon may have their due without derogation to the prerogative of David's seed by promise, who was to be, and now is, both Solomon's and David's Lord. The verses 12, 13, according to the most exquisite literal sense, refer to David's seed, not by carnal generation, but by promise or birth spiritual; and yet truly verified of Solomon according to a lower degree of the literal sense, who was David's seed by carnal generation. The establishing of Solomon's kingdom is here indefinitely expressed, without any note of universality in respect of time: nor was his line, *de facto*, perpetuated, until the promised seed was spiritually conceived, and made of our flesh and substance. If Solomon's line (as is probable) did determine in Jeconiah, yet this no way excludes it from being part of the literal object, ver. 13: *He shall build an house for my name, and I will establish*

the throne of his kingdom for ever; that is, so long as
1001 that material temple should stand, which was until the captivity of Babylon. The first words likewise of ver. 14, *I will be his Father, and he shall be my son,* were literally, and in the historical sense, meant of Solomon, albeit exactly fulfilled in David's seed, κατ' ἐξοχήν, in the mystical sense; that is, Solomon, as his father David before him, was instyled the son of God, or God's firstborn amongst the princes of the earth; and so instyled not by court-compliment or in the adulatory style, but by the Spirit of God. Both their royalties and prerogatives did bear the same proportion to all the preeminencies of earthly kings which lived before them, or in their times, (especially for the perpetuity of the kingdom,) which the portion of the firstborn did bear by the law of God, or custom of nations unto younger brothers. But the latter part of ver. 14, and the whole of ver. 15, *If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men,* are to be understood of Solomon and the heirs of his body only; they are not appliable to the Son of God made man, or to the Son of David made King and Priest, either according to the literal or mystical sense. The 16th verse refers to David, and to Solomon, and their sons in the literal, but to Christ and his kingdom only in the mystical sense, as to the true body and substance; of which these two great kings of Israel and Judah, and their kingdoms, were but as brief maps or terrars. The kingdom of David's seed, κατ' ἐξοχήν, and of Solomon his successor in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, do differ more in substance than the map of Germany doth from that sometimes goodly country, now wasted with war and famine.

3. But in all these passages before cited, there is no

intimation of God's oath for the confirmation of his promise unto David and his seeds, but to his seed. Yet this assurance unto his seed we have in ps. cxxxii, which was composed by David himself, toward the latter end of his reign, or after he had brought the ark of the covenant unto mount Zion, the place dedicated by this pious king for its perpetual residence. It is a point to me very considerable, that as God did not confirm his promise of blessing to Abraham by oath until Abraham had yielded up by faith his only son Isaac; so did he not give David assurance by oath, that the seed promised to Abraham should be his seed, or that this his seed should be the High Priest of the heavenly sanctuary, until David had first bound himself by sacred oath to prepare a place for the ark of the covenant, an habitation for the Almighty God of Jacob, psalm cxxxii. 1, &c.: *Lord, remember David, and all his afflicitions: how he sware unto the Lord, and vowed unto the mighty God of Jacob; Surely I will not come into the tabernacle of my house, nor go up into my bed; I will not give sleep to mine eyes, or slumber to mine eyelids, until I find out a place for the Lord, an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob,* &c. This great service thus consecrated, and devoted by the royal prophet, the mighty Lord (*who will not suffer a cup of cold water given to a prophet, in the name of a prophet, to pass unrewarded*) doth abundantly recompense, not in general only, or by equivalency, but as before he had done Abraham's and Isaac's obedience, in kind. Thus much is implied, ver. 11: *The Lord hath sworn in truth unto David; he will not turn from it,* &c. As if he had said, 'he will not reverse his promise, nor suffer the blessing promised to fail, because both were confirmed by oath.' What was the blessing promised and confirmed by 1002

oath? *Of the fruit of thy body* (or *of thy belly*, as the original hath it) *will I set upon thy throne.* The object of this oath reacheth to none of David's seed, save only to him who was the promised woman's seed, the fruit of the Virgin's womb; yet were not David's sons, or the rest of his seed, excluded by oath from reigning in Judah and Jerusalem, until time should be no more; so it followeth, ver. 12: *If thy children will keep my covenant and my testimony that I shall teach them, their children shall also sit upon thy throne for evermore.* But these (we must consider) are words of promise, not of oath; and for this reason are expressed not in an absolute form or tenor. And so must other promises not confirmed by oath be interpreted: although the condition be not always expressed, they alway imply more than a mere possibility; a true title to the blessing promised, though not a title undefeasible.

4. But it is time to review the paraphrase of the psalmist, psalm lxxxix, upon this last and other promises, made respectively unto David himself, and to his seed or sons. The original occasion, whether of that psalmist's tentations to question the truth of God's promises to David, or (which I rather think) of the general distrust in the discontented multitude of those times, which he did rather seek to represent than approve, was this; either they did not distinguish at all, or else not so well as they should, between the articles unto which God did swear, and the articles unto which he tied himself by promise only. The latter were alway conditional, or subject to a forfeiture or revocation upon the misdemeanour of the parties whose good it did concern. *I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him: with whom my hand shall be established: mine arm also shall*

strengthen him. The enemy shall not exact upon him; nor the son of wickedness afflict him, ps. lxxxix. 20, &c. All this, no good Christian can doubt, was literally and punctually meant of the son of Jesse. As little question there is of ver. 25: *I will set his hand also in the sea, and his right hand in the rivers.* This, according to the literal meaning, expresseth the extents or bounds of David's or Solomon's kingdom here on earth: for that extended from the Sidonian sea on the west, unto the division of Euphrates on the east into divers channels.

5. But this promise, with the blessing promised, whereof David and Solomon were fully possessed, was mystically (as hath been observed before) to be fulfilled in the seed of David promised by oath, whose dominion over this inferior world reacheth from sea to sea, over all the rivers and corners of the earth. The verses 26, 27, 28, fall under the same rule or line. But although it were a part and a principal part of the blessing promised to David, that the Messiah should be his seed or son, yet were neither David or Solomon, nor any other of David's sons any part of that promise, ver. 29, *His seed also will I make to endure for ever, and his throne as the days of heaven.* Thus the Holy Ghost speaketh as the apostle interpreteth the like promise, (or rather the same promise made before to Abraham,) not of David's seed, as of many, but as of one seed, which is Christ. The apostle's interpretation of God's promise to Abraham (I am not ignorant) hath much perplexed some learned interpreters; but (as was observed before) men better versed in rules of grammar, than in mysteries of divinity. And many impertinent discourses for salving the truth, or supporting the strength of the

1003 apostle's inferences, we may ofttimes read, and sometimes hear. But the old maxim, *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, holds more true in this case than in the point whereto the philosopher applies it: 'A groundless doubt can never produce a pertinent answer,' or be capable of a firm and solid resolution. Now the men which have questioned the force of the apostle's inference, did only or specially consider the grammatical use of the word *seed*, which although it be of the singular number, yet denotes a multiplicity of persons. But the ground of our apostle's inference was from the matter or blessing promised, not from the grammatical form of words wherein it was expressed. He could not be ignorant, nor was he incogitant, that most promises made to Abraham and his seed did literally refer to all his posterity, especially to Isaac; yet he very well knew and considered, that the promise of that seed wherein all the nations of the earth should be blessed, could be extended to no more than one seed, who was the promised seed of the woman. And unto this seed alone, (promised by oath unto David,) ver. 29, before rehearsed, must be confined, as is clear from ver. 30, where, after he had said, *That his seed should endure for ever, and his throne as the days of heaven*, he there adds, *If his children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments; if they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments; then will I visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes.* vv. 30, 31, 32. This the Holy Ghost speaketh not of David's seed, as of one, but of his seeds, as of many. Nor is it any where said, that any or all of their thrones should endure as the days of heaven; for all David's children, besides that one seed, were by the psalmist's own acknowledgment liable to such

visitations or censures as the Lord of lords doth pass on other kings and potentates, according to their demerits, at his pleasure. Nor are the visitations here mentioned to be universally taken for fatherly corrections only, (a slumber wherewith some, otherwise good interpreters, have been overtaken,) but for true and real punishments.

6. What then, had David and his sons no prerogative above other kings or princes? Did God make promise of no more favour and grace to David and to his ordinary seed than he had done to Saul? If we should thus conclude, the tenor as well of prophecies as of God's promises to David would convince us of error, and the historical events would determine against us. For neither Solomon's idolatry, nor Rehoboam's oppression, (which was equivalent to idolatry,) a foolish son of a wise father, did utterly extinguish the promises made to David and his successors, though Rehoboam foolishly intending the oppression of his subjects, did impair the blessing promised. For after both these had been gathered to their fathers, the Lord in mercy and in memory of his covenant with David, did often repair the ruins which such unwise kings as Rehoboam, and some of his successors were, had made in Judah and Jerusalem, by raising up such lights unto David, as Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josias were. This preeminence or precedency in God's promises all David's lawful successors had over all the nations under heaven, that they were as God's firstborn amongst the kings of the earth, but with this limitation or condition, *quamdiu bene, aut saltem mediocriter se gesserint.* Now in latter generations the kings and princes of Judah, (who had been the first in God's favour,) by multiplying their own, and making up the number of their forefathers' trans-

1004 gressions, become the very last; as remarkable objects of God's fearful visitations threatened, (psalm lxxxix. 30, 31,) as their godly forefathers had been of his blessings. And yet the forfeiture of their present estate, or of their interest in the covenant made to David and his seed, did reach no further than to their own persons, or to their seed according to carnal generations, as is most elegantly and punctually expressed in the verses immediately following: *Nevertheless my lovingkindness will I not utterly take from him* (that is, from David,) *nor suffer my faithfulness to fail. My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips.* vv. 33, 34. The true expression of the mystery in these words amounts to thus much at least, and to what more I leave it to such as have leisure and judgment to examine: "However David's posterity in future times may make a desperate forfeiture of their possession in the land of Canaan, be excluded from all claim or title to the kingdoms of Judah or Israel; though the whole race which shall issue from David or Solomon, by ordinary right or succession, may be utterly extinguished or put out; yet one thread shall be reserved inviolable from the force of the enemy's sword, famine, fire, or death itself." This (to my apprehension) is the true meaning of that passage, *I will not break my covenant.*

7. The impossibility here implied for disinheriting the seed of David, κατ' ἐξοχήν, or (as we English speak) of cutting off the entail in remainder to this singular seed of David, after all the residue of his posterity either were or might have been deprived of their crowns and dignities, or of all title to the sceptre of Judah, doth depend upon the often mentioned confirmation of David's throne and kingdom by oath unto the seed of David by promise: so the Holy

Spirit, by whose inspiration this psalm was penned, (whatsoever the psalmist intended,) most punctually expresseth, ver. 35, &c.: *Once have I sworn by my holiness that I will not lie unto David. His seed shall endure for ever, and his throne as the sun before me. It shall be established for ever as the moon, and as a faithful witness in heaven.*

8. The emphasis of the word *once* in the original (whether Hebrew or Greek) is as well expressed by our English proverb or apophthegm, *Once done and aye done*, that is, so well done as it needs no correction, no amendment or reiteration. Nor do we read that God, after the interposition of this oath first made to Abraham, and afterward renewed to David, did ever resume the like solemn oath, or make fuller declaration of it, until the seed promised was exhibited. This is that which the psalmist means, *I have sworn once by my holiness that I will not fail David*[k]. The true expression of which phrase is equivalent to that before mentioned upon ver. 18. of the sixth to the Hebrews. And the word in the original is the very same with that which the Septuagint useth in the translation of this 89th psalm. The true meaning of both places is, that not only the promise itself was irreversible, but that the blessing promised after it was once exhibited, should be exempted from all possibility of expiration or diminution. The true reason whereof was, because this promise was confirmed by oath, and the declaration of his oath reiterated in this psalm, verses 36, 37, being before avouched ver. 3. And such reiterations in scripture are not tautologies, but true characters (as from the

[k] Psalm lxxxix. 35.

scripture it hath been afore observed[1]) of the stability of the thing promised or signified.

10. The expressions in the beginning of this psalm,
1005 and in the close, are *indices optimæ moratæ orationis*, true characters of pious humility and reverent devotion towards God: the intermediate passages are full of expostulatory passions. This difference in the character persuades me that the psalmist did pen his own part from the 1st verse to the 38th, and represent the murmurings of malecontents from the beginning of that verse unto the 52nd, which is the last. Two points more there be which require a further review before we leave this psalm; as, first, unto what former promises made to David in his lifetime the oath twice mentioned by the psalmist doth literally refer. Our later English in the margin upon ver. 3. sends the reader an errand (I must confess not impertinent) unto the forementioned place of 2 Samuel vii. 11; yet an errand which that place cannot fully dispatch, for in that place there is no mention of an oath. Both the places cited out of psalm lxxxix. literally refer unto the promise mentioned by Samuel, but as it is confirmed by oath upon record, psalm cxxxii, which it is evident was composed by David himself a long time after the promise avouched by Nathan in 2 Sam. vii, and longer before psalm lxxxix. was penned. The next query worthy the judicious reader's consideration is, what God's oath *by his holiness*, or, as the LXX interpreters have it, ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ μου, *in* or *by my holy one*, doth directly signify or collaterally import. That God swearing by his holiness did directly and immediately swear by himself is not controversed; for the oath for

[1] In the Seventh Book of these Comments, ch. 13. parag. 3, &c.

its substance and essential object is the very same with that oath which he made to Abraham, Gen. xxii, where it is said, *By myself have I sworn;* for God's holiness is himself. But for the collateral object of this one and the same oath, I refer the judicious and moderate reader to Calvin's exposition or resolution of this doubt, thus related by Coppen in his ingenuous and learned annotations upon ver. 36. of psalm lxxxix: *Per sanctitatem, id est, per meipsum. Calvinus putat Deum jurasse per templum tanquam præsentiæ suæ symbolum, et quoddam habitaculum. Ita Calvinus in harmonia evangelistarum, Matt.* xxiii. 17. *ubi principium hoc ponit et figit, non esse fas nisi per unius Dei nomen jurare; unde sequitur, quascunque ad jurandum formulas homines adhibeant, uni Deo servandum esse suum honorem; unde colligitur, quomodo et quatenus per templum jurare liceat, videlicet quia sedes est et sanctuarium Dei, sicuti per cœlum, quia illic refulget Dei gloria. Deus enim se in talibus præsentiæ suæ symbolis in testem et judicem advocari patitur, modo jus suum salvum retineat.*

11. If this annotation be true and orthodoxal, that when God did swear by his holiness, he did by way of attestation call his temple his holy place to witness, I should not understand the material temple, as then not founded in Jerusalem, but that heavenly sanctuary, or most holy place whereinto God's Holy One, whom he would not suffer to see or feel corruption in the grave, was after his resurrection from the dead to enter, and there to remain as our immortal mediator and intercessor. For so the Son of God, God blessed for ever, should be as true and essential an object of this oath as the Father himself was. And this interpretation doth well accord with our apostle's expression or expo-

sition of God's oath to Abraham, ἐμεσίτευσε τῷ ὅρκῳ, *he did interpose himself*, or *intermediated by oath.*

12. If the allegations hitherto mentioned cannot persuade, I hope the authority and arguments of our apostle will enforce the ingenuous Christian reader to
1006 grant the main conclusion in this discourse intended. The conclusion is briefly this; however God's promise made without an oath be in the assertive sense the very same with promises confirmed by oath, yet in the characterical sense they much differ. Mere promises are conditional and reversible; the blessings so promised mutable or determinable by time, but God's oath annexed to his promises is alway a character of irreversibility, and of everlasting immutability after the blessing promised be possessed, so far as it concerns the life to come. Two places there are in the seventh chapter to the Hebrews very pregnant to this purpose, and which do sufficiently authorize the forementioned prenotion or received rule for interpreting all the former places of scripture alleged as we have done. For after many forcible reasons, to convince his auditors that there was no such perfection in the law or legal priesthood as the patriarchs and their godly forefathers did hope and wait for, and that there was a necessity that both the law and priesthood should be changed, (which is the subject of his discourse from ver. 10,) he pitcheth specially upon these verses: *And inasmuch as not without an oath he was made priest: (for those priests were made without an oath; but this with an oath by him that said unto him, The Lord sware and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec:) by so much was Jesus made a surety of a better testa-*

ment[m]. Aaron and his sons had the promise, and were authorized by express charter to offer sacrifice and to bless in God's name for ever. And what more could be said (in the assertive sense) of our High Priest? or what argument can there be drawn from sacred authority that the priesthood of Aaron should not be, that the priesthood of the Son of David should be, everlasting and unchangeable? The only sure ground of this inference is that mentioned by our apostle, *because Aaron and his sons were made priests, were destinated and authorized to their function without an oath,* whereas the Son of David was destinated and assigned to his priesthood after the order of Melchisedec by solemn oath, interposed by him that said, *Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec;* which words are three or four times reiterated in this chapter. The contents or importances of the oath are most divinely expressed by the apostle, from ver. 23. to the end of the chapter: *And they truly were many priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death: but this man,* (or rather *this priest,*) *because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. For such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's: for this he did once, when he offered up himself. For the law maketh men high priests which have infirmity;*

[m] See chapter 10. of this book.

but the word of the oath, which was since the law[n]***, maketh the Son, who is consecrated for evermore.*** Christ the Son of David was a mortal man before he was consecrated to be an immortal priest; for his very death was a part of his consecration. And after the accomplishment of his consecration the priesthood of Aaron became void, as being never confirmed by oath: for all things not so confirmed are at the best but commensurable to time or succession, and time itself shall be abolished, by oath, Rev. x. 6.

Juravit per viventem tempus non fore amplius.

1007 That opinion of some heathen philosophers, as of Hierocles[o], concerning the endless succession of time, or perpetual continuance of all things according to the course of nature, (which now they hold,) is probable did take its original from a mistake, or misapplication of the tradition or prenotion concerning the stability or everlasting condition of things confirmed by oath. He, with some others, applies this undoubted rule unto things temporal, or to this present world, which holds true only of the world to come.

[n] This punctually refers unto God's oath made to David, ps. cx, not to God's oath made to Abraham, which was long before the law.

[o] Legem quidem superius Dei actionem existere docuimus, eodem modo semper se habentem perpetuaque et immutabili ratione res omnes producentem. Jusjurandum deinceps ipsi causam esse dixerimus, quæ omnia in eodem statu ita conservet atque retineat; ut quæ juramenti fide confirmata sunt, et legis ordinem tuentur, tanquam certus legis effectus, in eorum recto ordine, quæ condita sunt, existant. Quod enim eadem lege stant omnia, sicuti disposita sunt, primarium fuerit hoc divini jurisjurandi opus: quod quidem inter eos, qui Deum semper intelligunt, maxime atque perpetuo servatur. pag. 28.

SECTION IV. 1008

By what Persons and in what Manner the Consecration of Jesus Christ the Son of God to his Priesthood was prefigured.

CHAP. XXI.

That Jesus or Jehoshua the Son of Nun, Zerubbabel the Son of Shealtiel, and Jesus the Son of Josedech, were special Types of Jesus Christ the Son of God, (respectively,) as he was to be made and now is both King and Priest.

SOME good historians have observed, that many famous kingdoms have been ruinated or extinguished under princes of the same name with those that first did erect or advance them. Darius, the first king of that name in Persia, made his country famous, and the Persians lords of the best part of the inhabited world. Another Darius makes Alexander famous by his mighty overthrow, and raiseth up the monarchy of Macedon by the fall of the Persian. Augustus was the second great Cæsar, and the first perpetual Roman emperor; and in Augustulus the very title of emperor did die, not so much as a shadow of the Roman empire remained after him. Constantine the Great did first erect the eastern empire, and founded the city of Constantinople; the first of all emperors that did publicly defend the Christian faith: another Constantine was the last emperor of Constantinople, leaving the empire to the disposal of the Turk. Baldwin, compeer of Godfrey of Bullogne in the conquest of the Holy Land, and after his death created king of Jerusalem, established this new kingdom in peace

which he had won by war; another of the same name and race leaves the Holy Land itself for a prey unto the superstitious Mahometan, not repossessed since his death by any Christian prince.

2. Nor do human stories only (though many besides these alleged might be produced) afford us instances or observations in this rank: the visible kingdom or commonwealth of Israel (taking Israel for the whole race of Jacob) was first established and settled in peace by Hosea[a] the son of Nun, whom Moses (upon foresight of this his good success in planting the people of God in the land of their promised rest) named *Jehoshua*[b], that is to say, *a saviour*. In the days of Hosea the son of Elah did Israel (as opposed unto the kingdom of David, that is, ten tribes of twelve) utterly cease to be a nation. Both king and people were led captives by Shalmaneser king of Assyria. The kingdom like-
1009 wise or commonwealth of Judah did finally expire and determine under Jesus the Son of David, but altogether through this people's fault; he never ceased to be a Saviour, a greater Saviour of his people than Jesus the son of Nun had been, for he was *salus ipsa*, "salvation itself." But his people was become so wicked, that salvation itself could not save them, or preserve their commonwealth from ruin. Howbeit, to speak the truth, this Jesus our Lord and Saviour did rather translate the kingdom of Judah and David from earth to heaven, than suffer it utterly to perish. He still remains a King, and of his kingdom there shall be no end: though his kingdom be not of this world, nor over Israel or Jacob according to the flesh, yet he still ruleth in Jacob unto the ends of the world, and so shall rule world without end. This translation of the kingdom of Judah and David from earth to

[a] Numb. xiii. 8. [b] Numb. xiii. 16.

heaven, or this new erection of this heavenly kingdom by Jesus Christ our Saviour, was prefigured by another Jesus, as lively a type or shadow of Christ as Jesus the son of Nun had been.

3. For after Judah, through her riot and intemperancy had procured her bane, as her sister Samaria had done, and was carried for dead out of the dwellings wherein Jesus the son of Nun had first seated her, the Lord in his all-foreseeing providence, and in sign what was after to be accomplished and fulfilled concerning the kingdom of David, would have another Jesus, the son of Josedech, to set Judah, after her recovery from captivity or civil death, on her feet again. So it is specified, Ezra iii. 2, Zechariah iii, Haggai ii, that at this people's return from Babylon into their land, Jeshua, or Jesus the son of Josedech, was their high priest, and herein a type of Christ, as he is our High Priest and Saviour. Zerubbabel, a prince of the tribe of Judah, and one of David's line, (under whose conduct this people returned safe from Babylon,) was the type of Christ as king. In respect of their deliverance from Babel, or safe conduct in the way, Zerubbabel had the precedency of Jesus the high priest, as Moses had the precedency of Jesus the son of Nun, in respect of the people's deliverance from Egypt. But as Jesus the son of Nun was God's principal instrument in planting this people in the land of promise, so Jesus the high priest, the son of Josedech, is the principal saviour of this people after their safe return from Babel into their native land; the principal type or shadow of Jesus Christ our Saviour, as he is consecrated by God to be the author of everlasting salvation. Zerubbabel the chief prince of Judah, and Jesus the son of Josedech, the high priest, (and for his time the sole successor of Aaron in his office,) join both

together, the one a lively type of Christ Jesus the Son of David, as he was King, the other a lively type of Christ Jesus as he was ordained to be our High Priest, in the building of the material altar, which was to be erected unto the Lord in the city of Jerusalem, after their return from Babylon. But whether of these two, to wit, Zerubbabel the son of David, or Jesus the son of Josedech, Aaron's successor, had precedency in this great work of erecting the altar unto God, (the first work of difficulty or moment to be undertaken by God's servants upon their return unto Jerusalem, the city of God,) were hard to determine by any rule of sacred heraldry. Ezra the scribe, and sacred historian of this business, gives Jesus the son of Josedech the precedency in style, Ezra iii. 2: *Then stood up Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and his brethren the priests, and Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and his brethren, and*
1010 *builded the altar of the God of Israel, to offer burnt offerings thereon, as it is written in the law of Moses the man of God.* But in Haggai ii. 4, Zerubbabel the son of David hath the like precedency of style: *Now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech, the high priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work: for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts.*

4. Yet that Jesus the son of Josedech was the more illustrious and principal type of Jesus Christ our Saviour and Redeemer, as he is the builder and founder of God's spiritual temple, (God's holy catholic church,) is most apparent from the prophecies of Zechariah, a prophet in those times extraordinarily raised up by God to encourage Jesus the high priest, and his fellow priests, to go forward in building the material temple in Jerusalem, specially if we compare

Zechariah iii, and part of Zechariah vi, with the prophecies of Jeremiah, chap. xxiii. 33. To begin with Zechariah, chap. iii: Jesus the son of Josedech, by progeny the son of Aaron, is solemnly enthronized as deputy or proxy for the Son of David, the promised and long expected high priest after the order of Melchisedec. This story or true legend of the instalment or enthronization of Jesus the son of Josedech, as in the right and interest of Jesus Christ the sole founder and builder of the holy catholic church, whereof the visible and material temple of Jerusalem was but a type or shadow, is very remarkably set out unto us as in a map, Zech. iii. The whole chapter, as also chapter ii, from ver. 6. unto the end, is worth our perusal, as most pertinent to this argument. First, Satan, that is the adversary of Jesus the high priest, waxed bold to resist him in the building of the material temple, being encouraged therein, partly because the remnant of Judah, then returning from captivity, was but as a *brand plucked out of the fire*, the light whereof, in the eyes of Satan their adversary, might easily have been extinguished, unless the Lord had rebuked Satan, as the Lord there by his angel doth: and his rebuke was an authentic prohibition. Secondly, Satan was the bolder to resist this work, because Jesus the high priest, appointed by God, and encouraged by his prophets for accomplishing of it, was for his bodily presence but weak, and would quickly have been daunted by his potent adversary, unless the Lord by his angel had rebuked and prohibited him. Thus Satan himself in person resisted our Lord and Saviour after his baptism, when he first begun to lay the foundation of his church, and to erect the kingdom of God, being thereto emboldened by the weakness of his bodily presence and appearance, in the fashion of man, and

form of a servant, until the Lord himself rebuked him, (as the angel in the name of the Lord did the adversary of Jeshua,) saying, *Avoid, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve;* and upon this rebuke Satan immediately left him, and the angels came and ministered unto him, Matt. iv. This is the evangelical accomplishment of the vision which Zechariah saw, as in the type or map, Zech. iii. 1, 2. But here it will be demanded, whether the following, verses 3, 4, which were literally and historically meant of Jesus the son of Josedech, can be applied to Jesus our High Priest, either according to the literal or mystical sense? *Joshua* (saith the text) *was clothed with filthy garments, and stood before the angel. And he answered and spake unto those that stood before*
1011 *him, saying, Take away the filthy garments from him. And unto him he said, Behold, I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee, and I will clothe thee with change of raiment.* vv. 3, 4. Jesus' outward habit or raiment was sordid and unsightly, *qualem decet exulis esse*, such as well became a man as yet retainer to the house of mourning, not fully absolved from the house of his prison, or not yet admitted unto the house of his freedom.

5. This Jesus in this habit was a true picture of Jesus our High Priest, whilst he continued in the form and condition of a servant, or whilst arraigned before the high priests or Pontius Pilate; and although in this estate he knew no sin, yet as the apostle saith, 2 Cor. v. 21: *He was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.* He is said to be *made sin for us*, because he bare the punishment due to our sins. And this sin or iniquity God did truly cause to pass from him, because our sins

were never inherent in him, but made his by imputation only. The punishment likewise due unto our sins did pass from him at his departure out of this world unto his Father. The new raiments wherewith Jesus the high priest was clothed, are emblems or shadows of that glory and immortality wherewith Jesus our High Priest since his resurrection is invested. The fair mitre which was put upon Jesus the son of Josedech's head, was the model of the crown of David, which was to flourish upon Jesus the Son of David's head, as it is psalm cxxxii. 18: *But upon himself shall his crown flourish.*

6. Briefly, the protestation which the angel in the verses following makes to Jesus the son of Josedech, is but a renewing or repetition of the promise which God had made unto Abraham and David concerning their seed. The tenor of God's promise here renewed or repeated unto Jesus the high priest is the same: *And the angel of the Lord protested unto Joshua, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts; If thou wilt walk in my ways, and if thou wilt keep my charge, then thou shalt also judge my house, and shalt also keep my courts, and I will give thee places to walk among these that stand by.* These words contain as ample a patent for the temporal or legal priesthood unto Jesus the son of Josedech and his posterity, as David had for continuation of the temporal kingdom in his race or progeny; both the promises and patents were conditional. But that there should arise an everlasting Priest, as well as an everlasting King, one in whom God's promises should not be conditional, but *yea and amen*, that is, absolute and irrefragable, the prophet Zechariah adds: *Hear now, O Joshua the high priest, thou, and thy fellows that sit before thee: for they are*—what are they?—

monstrous persons, saith our former English, or *men wondered at*, saith the latter, *viri portendentes*, saith the Vulgar. The prophet's meaning is, that they are men set for types or signs of great matters to come. The word in the original is the same, Ezekiel xii. 11: *Say, I am your sign: like as I have done, so shall it be done unto them*—that is, to the princes of Jerusalem, and house of Israel—*they shall remove and go into captivity.* As Ezekiel's digging through the wall in the people's sight, and carrying forth his stuff upon his shoulders in twilight, with his face covered, that he should not see the ground, was a sign or prognostication of Zedekiah's stealth or flight from the Chaldeans' army which besieged him: so Jeshua the high priest, and all his fellows, in all this action or solemnity, (specially in laying the foundation of the altar and temple,) were prognostic signs or prefigu-
1012 rations of Jesus the everlasting High Priest, and of the spiritual temple, (the holy catholic church,) which he was to build by the ministry of the apostles. So it followeth: *For, behold, I will bring forth my servant the Branch. For behold the stone that I have laid before Joshua; upon one stone shall be seven eyes: behold, I will engrave the graving thereof, saith the Lord of hosts, and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day.*

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Harmony between the Prophet Jeremiah and the Prophet Zechariah concerning the Man whose Name is The Branch: *how his Growth or springing up was prefigured by Zerubbabel the Son of David: his Name and Title as our High Priest forepictured by the Name and Title of Jesus the Son of Josedech: that he was as truly the Son of God before all Time, as the Son of David in Time.*

THAT this man whose name was *The* BRANCH was to build the temple of the Lord; that he was to take his investiture unto his priestly dignity by Jesus the son of Josedech, as by his proxy, is apparent from the sixth chapter of the prophet Zechariah, ver. 11, &c.: *Take silver and gold, and make crowns, and set them upon the head of Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest; and speak unto him, saying, Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is* The BRANCH; *and he shall grow up out of his place*[k], *and he shall build the temple of the Lord: even he shall build the temple of the Lord; and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne; and he shall be a priest upon his throne: and the counsel of peace shall be between them both.*

2. This place and the former are pregnant that the servant of the Lord whose name was *Zemah*, The Branch, whose office was to build up the temple of God, should be a priest, and should sit upon his throne as priest. But it cannot from either place be gathered, it is not so much as intimated, that he should either be a priest after the order of Aaron, or of Melchisedec, or of the seed of Aaron, as Jesus or Joshua the son of Josedech was. But as the prophet affirmeth not that he

[k] This is as Junius interpreteth, out of Nazareth.

was to be priest after the order of Aaron or Melchisedec, so neither in plain terms doth he deny it: true, but as every prophet of God speaks nothing but the truth, so neither doth one of them speak all the truth, or all that is requisite for us to believe concerning Jesus our Saviour. That the man whose name was The Branch (the same party of whom Zechariah here speaks) should not be of the seed of Aaron, or a priest after the order of Aaron, is evident from the prophecy of Jeremiah, chap. xxiii. 5, &c., uttered more than seventy years before Zechariah began to prophesy: *Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely: and this is his name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness.* It is plain then out of the forecited prophecy of
1013 Zechariah, that God's servant, the righteous Branch, was to be a priest: it is evident again, out of Jeremiah, that he was to spring out of the seed of David, and to reign as king over Judah and Israel as David had done. And these two put together will directly conclude that this Branch of David was to be that Son of David, concerning whom the Lord had sworn and would not repent, that he should be a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec, who was both king and priest, and by interpretation *the king of righteousness* and *king of peace:* both which titles are expressly given to this servant of God and Branch of David, the one by the prophet Zechariah, the other by the prophet Jeremiah.

3. But is it intimated or foretold by either of them, that he should be as truly David's Lord as David's Son? Yes, Jeremiah implies this in fuller terms than

David himself doth, psalm cx; for David saith, *The Lord said unto my Lord—Adonai,* not *Jehovah*—whereas the prophet Jeremiah tells us, that the supreme style or title of this Branch of David should be, not *Adonai Tzadkenu,* but *Jehovah Tzadkenu, Jehovah our righteousness:* so that he whom David in spirit calleth his Lord, was to be as essentially Lord and God, as he that said unto him, *Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool.* But was he according unto this name or title prefigured or foreshadowed either by Zerubbabel the prince of Judah, or by his associate Jesus the high priest, in conducting God's people from the land of their captivity into the land of promise? Yes, there is not one title or attribute mentioned in either prophecy, but it is foreshadowed either jointly, both by Zerubbabel and Jesus the high priest, or severally by one of them.

4. As he is the Branch of David foreprophesied by Isaiah, chap. xi. 1, (whereto both these prophecies of Jeremiah and Zechariah have reference,) he is more exquisitely prefigured by Zerubbabel than by David himself, or any other prince of David's line. The Branch which God had promised to raise up unto David, almost 110 years before Jeremiah had uttered his prophecies, was to grow up out of the stem or root of Jesse, as it is, Isaiah xi. 1; that is, he was to be a man of meaner parentage than Jesse the father of David was; a man more unlikely to become a prince or ruler of God's people than David was when he kept his father's sheep: of David's lineage, many after the captivity were poor, and of as mean ability as Jesse, David's father, was. Zerubbabel was born unto Salathiel in captivity, and Salathiel himself the son of Jeconiah, a poor captive prince: but whether Salathiel

was the son of Jeconiah's body, or rather his son by adoption, I have no more to say than was said before. Whether this way or that way he were his son, if we consider the potency of the Chaldean empire when he was born, or the Chaldeans' general averseness from the Jews, or their jealousy of the royal race, it was more unlikely that any of David's line should be released from captivity, or be suffered to return from Babylon unto their native land, than that Israel should be delivered from the Egyptian thraldom by Moses. But the same God which had shewed his mighty power in the overthrow of Pharaoh and his powerful host, did as miraculously shew both his power and wisdom in the sudden surprisal of Babylon, and overthrowing the Babylonian empire by Cyrus. Of these two wonderful deliverances of his people, the latter, in the prophet Jeremiah's esteem, is the greater; therefore
1014 he saith, Jeremiah xvi. 14, 15: *Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that it shall no more be said, The Lord liveth, that brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but, The Lord liveth, that brought up the children of Israel from the land of the north, and from all the lands whither he had driven them: and I will bring them again into their land that I gave unto their fathers.* The like you may read, Jerem. xxiii. 7, 8: Cyrus, after his strange conquest of Babylon, sets God's people free, and authorizeth Zerubbabel, the next heir then left unto the crown of Judah, to conduct them unto Jerusalem, there to serve their God, as he in his laws had prescribed. But after their safe arrival there, they are molested by their malicious enemies: the building of the city and temple is after Cyrus's death for divers years hindered, until Zerubbabel, by his favour and potency with Cyrus's successors, procures the revival

of the charter which Cyrus granted, and frees himself and God's people from further molestation by their enemies, as you may read it at large in the book of Ezra. So that part of Jeremiah's prophecy is verified of him; for in his days, and by his means, (under God,) Judah was saved, and Israel did dwell securely. Though he were not in name or title a saviour, yet he is indeed the saviour of his people from present distress and danger. And thus far this poor revived branch of David is a true and lively type of that Branch of David, in whom all the promises of God made unto Abraham and David were fulfilled, who was to be a Saviour, not in reality only, but in name or title, and called especially *Jesus*, because he was to save his people, not from bodily distress or captivity, but from their sins. And as he is in this sense a Saviour, Jesus the son of Josedech is the lively type or shadow of him, as well in office or function, as in express name or title; for he being their high priest, and Aaron's successor, did make legal atonement for their sins, did sanctify the temple, altar, and their offerings, and performed all legal righteousness for them, in sign of greater righteousness and salvation by that High Priest which was to come, whose supreme title was, *The Lord our righteousness.*

5. But did either Zerubbabel or this Jesus the high priest and his associates prefigure or foreshadow our High Priest in this royal name or title of being *the Lord our righteousness?* Certain it is, that Zerubbabel did not; for neither his own name, nor his father's, nor any of his progenitors' names, since Jehoshaphat's days, had any reference to this title, nor import the thing signified by it in their grammatical significations. But the father of this Jeshua, or Jesus

the high priest, was named *Josedech*, which signifies as much as *the righteousness of the Lord*, or *the righteous Lord*.

6. But here we must consider that names are of two sorts. Some names agree to the things named substantially and directly: others accidentally, or *in obliquo*. The former sort express the condition and nature of the thing named: as the name of *Adam*, which God imposed upon the first man, did express his nature or substance, to wit, the red earth out of which he was framed. So the name which Adam gave unto the first woman did truly express the nature and condition of the sex, to wit, that she was made of man, that she was of his flesh and of his bone: so likewise is the name of *Eveh* a true expression of her nature, for she was the mother and fountain of life unto all posterity.

1015 7. Names otherwhiles, though solemnly given, express or import some circumstance or relation unto the nature or thing itself which they primarily and properly signify. So Gideon was called *Jerubbaal*, not that ever he did plead for Baal, but in remembrance of his father's answer unto them which had expostulated with him for cutting down Baal's grove.

8. So Moses called the altar which he erected, Exod. xvii. 14, *Jehovah-nissi*, "the Lord my banner." Not thereby intending to occasion us to think, that the altar so named was either Jehovah or his defence, but only to import or signify, that in that place wherein he built the altar, and at the time of this inscription, Jehovah his God had been the defender and protector of Israel in miraculous manner against the Amalekites. So likewise when our Saviour called Simon *Cephas* or *Petros*, the name imports not that

he was either the rock itself, or corner-stone whereon Christ's church is founded[l], but only that he had some special reference or relation unto the rock or foundation stone which God had laid in Zion, or, which is all one, that he was the first which did solemnly confess and acknowledge Christ Jesus to be as truly God as man. The matter or object directly signified by these words is the only true and real foundation of faith as Christians, of the catholic church itself[m]. Of this rank or sort of names is the name *Josedech*, as it was given unto the father of Jesus the high priest, but this doth no way import that he was either Jehovah, or a man more righteous than other high priests had been; and yet so called, not by chance, or out of vain ostentation of his parents, but by divine instinct or appointment of God: or whatsoever intent his parents might have in giving him this name, God did so direct their intentions, as he did Caiaphas's speech, to be a kind of prophecy of what was to come. We may say of Josedech as the angel said of Jesus and his fellow priests, that he was *vir portendens;* his very name and office did portend or bode, that Jehovah himself, the righteous Lord, should become our High Priest. And inasmuch as the son of Josedech was the first high priest, the first of all the sons of Aaron that was called *Jesus*, that is, *a saviour*, this likewise did portend or foreshadow that the Saviour of God's people, the High Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec, should be the Son, not of David only, but of Jehovah the righteous Lord, or Lord of righteousness. And if he were to be as truly the Son of Jehovah the righteous Lord, as he was to be the Son of David, then ques-

[l] See the Third Book of these Comments, sect. 2. chap. 7.

[m] See this point handled at large in the Third Book of these Comments.

tionless he was to be as truly Jehovah, that is, as truly and essentially God, as he is truly and essentially man. For the relation betwixt the Father and the Son is much more strict in the divine nature than it can be amongst men.

9. Amongst men it will follow, that if the father be a man, the son must be a man; if the father be mortal, the son must be mortal: but it will not follow, that if the father be a righteous or potent man, the son likewise must be a righteous or potent man. The reason is, because they are divided in substance. But inasmuch as the Son of God is of the same substance or essence with his Father, it will directly follow, not only, that if the Father be God the Son is God, but also, that if the Father be Lord of righteousness the Son also must be Lord of righteousness. Yet, inasmuch as not Josedech the father, but Jesus the son became legal righteousness, or a temporal saviour to God's people in captivity, this truly foreshadoweth this truth unto us, that although God the Father be as truly the Lord of righteousness as God the Son,
1016 both being of one substance, yet is Jehovah become our righteousness and our salvation, not in the person of the Father, but in the person of the Son.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Objection of the Jews against the Interpretation of the former Prophecy, Jeremiah xxiii, *answered. In what Sense Judah is truly said to be saved, and Israel to dwell in safety, by Jesus the Son of God and Son of David.*

YET here the Jew will object, that this prophecy is not yet fulfilled, because Judah is not fully saved, nor Israel planted in their own land. But the apostle hath fully answered this objection, if we could as rightly

apply his solution: *All,* saith he, *are not Israel that are called Israel,* Rom. ix. 6. Yet many are true Israelites indeed which are not so in name; *nor is he a Jew that is one outwardly, but that is one inwardly.* The apostle in the same place gives us to understand, that many are Jews or of Judah inwardly, which are not of Judah outwardly, or so called by name. Whosoever is inwardly or in heart that which the name of *Judah* importeth, he is truly of Judah, though not the seed of Judah or of Abraham concerning the flesh. Now the name of *Judah* or *Jew* importeth as much as a confessor or true professor of Abraham's faith, and every one is a true Israelite that is so qualified as Nathanael was, one *in whose spirit there is no guile:* unto all such, and only unto such, the Lord imputeth no sin, and all they unto whom the Lord imputeth no sin, all such as truly confess Christ to be the Son of God and promised Branch of David, are saved by him, whether they be the sons of Jacob or of Abraham, or Gentiles according to the flesh. So that in conclusion, all Judah and all Israel, according to the full extent of this prophecy, are saved by this Jesus: for all of them dwell in safety, they are not become afraid of themselves, but possess their souls with patience. To become Jews or Israelites in this sense is the first degree of salvation, and this degree they likewise have from Jesus, through whom and in whom they are to expect the accomplishment of their salvation. Christ then first saves us from our sins that are inherent in us, or (as the apostle speaks) he first *sets us free from the law of sin by the spirit of life which is in him,* and finally exempts us from the wages of sin which is everlasting death. And thus much is contained in that forecited promise, Jeremiah xvi, and in the close and conclusion of that prophecy, Jeremiah xxiii, con-

cerning the saving of Judah and Israel by the Branch of David, whose name or title is, *The Lord our righteousness. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that they shall no more say, The Lord liveth, which brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but, The Lord liveth, which brought up and which led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country:* the Hebrew phrase *meeretz-zaponah*, according to the usual and ordinary rate of that language, signifies indeed *from the north land;* yet the original of this signification, or importance of these words, was from a conceit which the Jews, or
1017 such as had their habitation near unto the equinoctial line, had, that those parts of the world which were more remote from the equinoctial or southern climes were hidden from the sun, and were, at least in respect of their country, lands of obscurity and darkness. The very prime and native signification of the original words in the prophet, rendered by our English *from the north land* or *country*, is verbatim *from the land of obscurity* or *darkness*. And whatsoever the land of Chaldea (whereof Babylon was the chief city or metropolis) was unto others, it was unto the captive Jews a country of darkness, a land of obscurity, the very shadow of death. And their deliverance from it was a true type or shadow of our deliverance from the region or land of darkness itself. The full importance of the evangelical mystery included in the forecited passage of the prophet Jeremiah, according to the most proper and most exquisite literal sense, is expounded unto us by our apostle St. Paul, Coloss. i. 12, 13: *God the Father*, saith the apostle, *hath made us meet to be partakers of the saints in light: and hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and translated us into the kingdom of his dearly beloved Son.*

2. So that this part of Jeremiah's prophecy, xxiii. 6, *In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell in safety*, must be fulfilled in every one of us more exquisitely than it was in the whole remnant of Judah and Israel, which returned in safety from Babylon, the land of their captivity, unto Jerusalem, the place of their peace and rest. Every one of us must be saved from the land of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of light, before we can be sure of our salvation; before our election and salvation can be made certain unto us: for every one of us is by nature the child of wrath; every one of us, as he is the son of Adam, carries a Babel, or mass of confusion, about with him, or rather lives in it as in a walking prison: every one of us is subject to more than Babylonish, to more than Egyptian slavery: our very souls, which are the light unto our bodies, our very minds, which have the same place in our souls which Goshen had in Egypt, are darkened, or (as the apostle speaks) are *darkness* itself. Now to extract or draw us out of ourselves, or out of that servitude unto sin in which we were born, or to bring us out of that darkness which is within us, is a greater miracle, a more remarkable document of God's infinite power and wisdom, than the bringing of Israel out of Egypt, than the rescuing of Judah from the captivity of Babylon were. God did make the wind and waters his instruments to overthrow Pharaoh and his host in the Red sea; he made his angels ministering spirits, to conduct Israel in their departure thence; but to draw us out of ourselves, to extract our minds and spirits from the dregs of the flesh, to translate them from the powers of darkness to the kingdom of light, the ministry or service of angels or other creatures did not suffice: for accomplishing this great work the Son of God

himself became a servant; he that was essentially Jehovah, God himself, did clothe himself with salvation as with a garment, and became a Saviour, not in the appearance of an angel, not in our mere shape and likeness, nor in the mere form or shape of any other creature, but in our *flesh and substance.*

1018 CHAP. XXIV.

That our High Priest the Son of God did not only accomplish that which was foreshadowed by the Name and Title and Office of Jesus the Son of Josedech, but withal the legal Rites or Solemnities; none of which he did destroy or dissolve as he did the Works of the Devil, but change or advance them into better Solemnities to be observed by us Christians. That his solemn Accomplishment of the Feast of Atonement, at the Feast of the Passover, was prefigured in the Law, and foresignified by God's special Command.

THE Son of God, saith St. John, *was manifested, to the end that he might destroy* or *dissolve the works of the devil.* Not only the works which he had wrought in the nature of Adam and all his sons, (the manner of whose destruction or dissolution the reader may find discussed at large in the eighth book of these Commentaries,) but besides these, all the solemn rites or ceremonies, whether sacrifices or other services, by which the subtle enemy of mankind had enticed men unto or retained them in obedience to his service. All these the Son of God came into the world not to change or accomplish, but utterly to abolish or destroy them. As for the Aaronical priesthood or legal rites dependent on it, these he came not utterly to abolish or destroy, but to change or sublimate them into a better kind of service. This orthodoxal form of words the apostle hath taught us, Heb. vii. 12: *The priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change*

also of the law; that is, no destruction either of the law or priesthood. *The false witnesses themselves, which were set up to accuse St. Stephen of blasphemous words against the holy place and the law,* though willing, no question, to charge him with more than he said, yet charge him with nothing but this: *We have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us.* Acts vi. 14. But these malicious men, with their complices and abettors, did destroy the material temple by turning it into a den of thieves or murderers, by practising these and other like works of the devil in it. Notwithstanding the utter destruction of this den of thieves by these means, the house of God (which was the temple whilst it continued a house of prayer) was not utterly destroyed, but rather changed or translated unto Jerusalem which is above, as the ark of the covenant had been before from Shiloh unto Zion. As for any intention utterly to destroy any custom which Moses had given them, they had no pretence to accuse either St. Stephen or our Saviour, who had solemnly protested that he *came not to destroy* or *dissolve the law, but to fulfil it.* And none, unless perhaps some base mechanic or meaner metal man, who thinks the matter whereon he works to be of all others the best, would accuse an alchymist or ingenious artist for wasting or destroying copper, lead, or brass, if he could change or sublimate them into pure gold.

3. The change or accomplishment of the best legal rites, even such as were appointed by an everlasting covenant, was more admirable than this supposed 1019
transmutation of baser metals into refined gold can truly represent; for, as hath been observed before[n],

[n] In the first and third sections of this Book.

albeit our Saviour was no priest after the order of Aaron either before or after his consecration, yet he did most exquisitely accomplish the whole Aaronical priesthood, and other legal rites dependent on it, by his consecration to a more excellent, truly everlasting priesthood. Circumcision was enjoined under this title of an everlasting covenant, and so enjoined under a terrible penalty (before the law was given by Moses) to all the seed of Abraham throughout their generations. Was this rite or ceremony then destroyed or annihilated by the circumcision of the Son of God? Neither destroyed then, nor changed before his death, but at his circumcision designed to be changed into an everlasting covenant, and after his resurrection and ascension, not so properly changed as advanced into a better sacrament or seal of God's love unto mankind, under a stricter penalty to the contemners of it, or the undertakers for both sexes, than circumcision had been to the Hebrew males. The Jewish sabbath, or seventh day, likewise was not so truly nullified for the substance of the precept, which was to be a commemoration of God's rest from all his works upon the seventh day, as clarified or purged from the dross or dregs of legal ceremonies, and changed into the Lord's day: and the Lord's day, besides the representation of God's rest from his works of creation upon the seventh day, contains a weekly commemoration of our redemption from the bondage of sin and powers of darkness, (represented by the thraldom of Israel in Egypt,) through the resurrection of our Lord and Redeemer. Again, no solemnity in all the sacred calendar of legal feasts was more peremptorily enjoined, or strictly observed, than the feast of expiation or atonement; yet was not this anniversary feast so properly abolished, as accomplished or ad-

vanced, by that one everlasting atonement made once for all by the Son of God upon the cross. For albeit that atonement, in respect of the sacrifice or offering, was but once made, yet the virtue or efficacy of it is not circumscriptible by time, nor interruptible by any moment or instant of time. Though he died but once to make satisfaction for us, yet he liveth for ever to make intercession for us, and is a perpetual propitiation for the sins which we daily and hourly commit; and for his sake, and through his propitiation, all our sins, who truly believe in him, and supplicate unto him for his intercession, shall be, not in general only, but in particular, freely pardoned. Nor doth the absolute everlasting perfection of this atonement any way prohibit us Christians to keep a solemn commemoration of the day whereon it was made once for all. But whether this commemoration were ordained or observed by the apostles themselves, or taken up by voluntary tacit consent of the church, after the apostles had finished their pilgrimage here on earth, I dare not take upon me to determine: but whether from this or that authority or example, most Christians are ready to humble themselves on the Friday before Easter, and acknowledge it to be a *good day*, because it is the commemoration of our Saviour's passion, and atonement made by it. And albeit this humiliation were much more ritually and severely observed by all of us than it is by some few, we should not transgress any law of God, nor swerve from the analogy of Christian faith, but rather accomplish the true intent and purport of the law given by Moses for the strict observation of the day of legal atonement. The humbling of our- 1020
selves upon that day by fasting and prayer, is alike common and lawful both to the Jew and Christian, and the representation or commemoration of Christ's

bloody death upon that day, by communication of his body and blood under the sacramental signs and pledges, is rather an accomplishment than an abolishment of the legal sacrifices, or other ceremonies of the priest's entering into the *sanctum sanctorum*, upon the tenth day of the month Tisri. A commemoration of which day the modern Jews to this day celebrate with foolish and fantastic ceremonies, as by tormenting of a cock[o], especially a white one: yet these fantastic practices serve as an impress or emblem of that sacred truth which we Christians believe and acknowledge, as hath been observed at large in the Fifth Book of Commentaries upon the Creed, chapter 47. parag. 2, 3.

3. May we Christians then call the Friday before Easter *the day of our atonement*, or the dominical next after it *the great sabbath?* For assoiling this or the like query about the use of words, especially such as are legal, I know no fitter distinction than that plain maxim of the schools; *Omne majus continet in se suum minus, non formaliter tamen sed eminenter;* "Every greater containeth the less of the same kind, not formally, but by way of eminency." It were no branch of untruth to say, that a quadrangle is two, and that a five-angled figure is three triangles; yet would it be a solecism to say the one were three triangles, and the other two triangles, if we should be directly demanded what manner of figure this or that were; the only true and punctual answer must be, that the one is formally a quadrangle, the other a quinquangle. To deny any king of England for the time being to be duke of Lancaster, would be censured for more than an error or logical untruth; for since the annexion of that great dukedom to the

[o] Vide Buxdorf. Synagoga Judaica, cap. 20.

crown, every king of England hath had as just and full a title to it as to the kingdom itself, or ancient crown-lands. And yet if a lawyer, or other skilful in drawing legal instruments, should in those very charters or donations which the royal power grants, not as king of England, but as he is duke of Lancaster, enstyle him only thus, "*H.* by the grace of God, duke of Lancaster, &c., doth give and grant to *N.*," omitting his royal titles, it would be a dangerous solecism in law. Now the legal titles or names of feasts, or of the services, are so contained in the evangelical services and solemnities, as two triangles are in a quadrangle, or as duke of Lancaster is in the royal title of king of England. It is no sin to say that the Friday before Easter is the day of our atonement, or that the first day of the week on which Christ arose from the dead is the Christian sabbath: but the more evangelical or royal style, is to nominate the one *the Lord's day* rather than *the sabbath;* and the other rather *Good Friday*, or *feria quinta in hebdomade sancta*, (that is, the fifth day besides the precedent dominical in the holy week,) than *the day of our atonement.* The like may be said of all other Christian festivals, instituted as solemn commemorations, in testimony of the accomplishment of the legal rites or services by the sufferings, resurrection, and other glorious actions of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

4. To conclude this short digression with Erasmus's resolution of a question less needful than the former, yet agitated by some, as it seems, in his days or before him: *Non hic agitabo quæstionem, An in Christum competats ervi vocabulum: qui favent ejus dignitati, malunt filium dici quam servum; qui respiciunt ejus humilitatem, et ad mortem usque obedientiam, non* 102

horrent servi vocabulum; filii nomine magis gaudent sacræ literæ, et ipse Dominus Patrem sæpius appellat quam Dominum aut Deum suum, et tamen Paulus scribit illi susceptam formam servi, *hoc est, hominis, ut interpretantur quidam, nec servi modo, verum etiam servi mali et verberibus digni, quemadmodum dictus est eidem, venisse* in similitudine carnis peccati. *Sed absit hac de re inter conservos contentio; qui servum appellare gaudent, imitentur illius obedientiam; quibus magis arridet filii nomen, imitentur illius charitatem, qui utrolibet nomine agnoscunt Dominum Jesum, utrumque pro viribus exprimant. In rebus enim spiritualibus nihil vetat eundem nunc servum, nunc filium appellari*[p].

5. But seeing we Christians affirm that our High Priest did accomplish the legal priesthood and sacrifices by his bloody sacrifice upon the cross, the Jew may object, that however his satisfaction might be full for substance, yet it failed in congruity of circumstances, and in particular for the circumstance of time. *Opus diei decenter fit in die suo:* Every work is then well done, then better done than otherwise it could be, when it is done in its own time or proper day. If then Christ made full atonement for all our sins by his own sacrifice upon the cross, this sacrifice had been offered in better season upon the day of atonement, which was the tenth day of the seventh month, or September, than on that day wherein he offered it, which was the fourteenth day of the first month, a day as far different in time from the day of atonement, as one festival day or solemnity can be from another. The answer first in general is, That seeing our High Priest was to offer but one bloody sacrifice, and that one no oftener than once, (for as his

[p] Erasmus in Psalm. lxxxv. 2. Opera, tom. v. p. 436.

death, so his sacrifice was never to be reiterated,) it was impossible he should offer this one sacrifice (by which all legal sacrifices and services were to be accomplished) upon the same day wherein all the sacrifices which did foreshadow it were offered or performed. As impossible it was that this his only sacrifice should be offered at several times, as in several places. Although most in the Romish church seem to avouch both parts of this impossibility, yet they avouch it with this distinction or limitation, that his bloody sacrifice was but once offered, and that but in one place, at one and the same time. But of this (if God permit) hereafter. His bloody sacrifice that church doth grant was to be offered but once, and therefore but upon a special day or solemn feast, which did foreshadow it by the proper sacrifice of that day. Now not only the annual but all the daily sacrifices did foreshadow this his bloody sacrifice once offered for all: and all of them were accomplished by it. Reason from these premises may instruct us how requisite it was that he should offer this sacrifice at that time, or upon that day, on which the principal sacrifices of the law which most exquisitely or most lively foreshadowed it were offered. The services or sacrifices of other feasts were to attend or conjoin themselves to this. Now as Jerusalem was the metropolis of the Jewish nation, the place wherein all the seed of Jacob, wheresoever they dwelt, were to present themselves, and to perform the solemnities and services of their principal feasts, so the passover was the metropolis of their solemn feasts; all other feasts had special reference unto it: it did point out the time, as Jerusalem did the place, wherein all other legal solemnities were to be accomplished. Seeing then our High Priest was to accomplish as well the sacrifices of the paschal

1022 lamb, as the services of the atonement, it was more requisite that the services usual upon that day of atonement should yield unto the feast of the passover for circumstance of time, than the feast of the passover should yield unto it; specially seeing our High Priest had already punctually accomplished the principal solemnity used in the feast of atonement, *in die suo*, upon the very feast day of atonement, which (as is before said[q]) was the day of our Saviour's baptism, the day of his consecration to his prophetical function. Albeit divers bloody sacrifices were offered upon the feast of atonement, yet the principal and most public solemnity was the leading of the scapegoat into the wilderness, Levit. xvi. 20, 21: *And when he hath made an end of reconciling the holy place, and the tabernacle of the congregation, and the altar, he shall bring the live goat: and Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness.* To accomplish the mystery of this service, our Saviour was led by the Spirit into the wilderness immediately after his baptism, bearing the iniquity of this people, even all the sins which had been confessed by Jerusalem and Judah at John's baptism. And though he himself needed not to be washed and baptized, as being all clean, yet, as he saith himself, it became him to be consecrated by baptism to this service *to fulfil all righteousness*, and by fulfilling this part of righteousness in bearing the sins which this people had confessed into the wilderness, he made a fuller atonement for Jerusalem and

[q] In Christ's Answer to John's Disciples.

Judah, than any high priest before had made. That curse wherewith Malachi had threatened the Lord would smite the earth or land of Jewry, was for this time averted by this his bloody sacrifice.

6. But as our Saviour at the time of his baptism, which was upon the day of atonement, had fulfilled the mystery of the scapegoat, so he was to accomplish the mystery foreshadowed by the bloody sacrifice of the paschal lamb. To this purpose John the Baptist, upon his return from the wilderness, had prophesied, *Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world,* John i. 29. He had borne the iniquity of Jerusalem and Judah by his journey unto, by his fasting and watching in the wilderness, and from this John foresaw he was to take away or *bear* (for so the original may import) the iniquities or sins of the world. He is called by John and others *the Lamb of God,* for his innocent and spotless life ; yet not so much (if at all) with reference to the lambs offered in the daily sacrifices, (which were altogether without spot or blemish,) as with reference to the paschal lamb, which was to be the choicest and fairest of the flock: and for this reason God in his wisdom would have him sacrificed at that feast or very time wherein the paschal lamb was slain, *id est,* upon the fourteenth of the first month, *inter duas vesperas,* " betwixt the two evenings." Some think betwixt three of the clock and the day-going or star-rising. Our Saviour died a little after three, and was brought in peace into his grave about the sunsetting, and by rest or reposal in it, hath hallowed the houses of death, as the paschal lamb did the houses of the Israelites wherein it was slain, and purchased our safety from the destroying angel, even whilst our bodies lodge within the land of darkness or region of death. The

congruity of time, and other circumstances, between
1023 the sacrifice of the paschal lamb and the sacrifice of our High Priest, are so manifest and so well known as they need no further comment.

7. The mystery foreshadowed by Israel's deliverance out of Egypt (which first occasioned the institution of the passover) was so great, that the Lord, in memory of it, did give the month wherein that deliverance was wrought the preeminence of all the months in the year; whereas before that time the month of September, in which the feast of atonement was celebrated, was for order of time or accompt the first, as being the season, according to the tradition of the Hebrews, and in all probability of reason, wherein the world was first created. And after the month of Abib had by God's appointment got the preeminence of all other months, yet the month Tisri, or September, still retains the precedency in the civil accompt of the Hebrews for matters temporal or secular. The accompt of their years in matters of contract or bargain, as of mortgage or purchase, was always to be taken from jubilee to jubilee, or from one sabbatical or seventh year to another. And the year of jubilee, or sabbatical year, did always begin and end in the month of September. And as we of this land have two accompts, the one from the year of the Lord, the other from the reign of the king, so had the Hebrews two accompts of the year more distinct and certain than ours are: the one for matters civil or secular, according to which accompt September was the first month, and March the seventh month: the other for matters ecclesiastical or spiritual, and according to this accompt the month of Abib, or March, was the first month, and September the seventh month. And because matters spiritual, or belonging to the

service of God, or state of his church, were the matters which God did principally respect in the institution of his law, therefore the month Abib, or March, after this people's deliverance from Egypt, though not before, was to be accompted the prime and principal month.

8. So then, albeit the feast of atonement and the feast of the passover differ as much in respect of the distance of time as any two feasts in the year can do, as having just half a year betwixt them, yet for identity of season, or congruity of other circumstances, they agree the best. Both of them are in their kinds the first months, light and darkness hold the same proportion in both. Both of them distribute day and night by equal balance to all the inhabitants of the earth. John Baptist's conception fell upon the feast of atonement, and the solemnity of this feast was in divers respects accomplished by our Saviour at his baptism or consecration to his prophetical function. Our Saviour's own conception was about the feast of the passover, and fitting it was for congruity of time that he should finish the course of his mortal life, and accomplish all the legal sacrifices, by the bloody sacrifice of himself upon that day, at that time wherein he had received the first beginning of life as man; fitting it was that he should be conceived to life immortal in the womb of the earth upon the same day, or at that time wherein he had first been conceived in the virgin's womb to the miseries and frail estate of mortality. Briefly then, in the alienation of preeminence or precedency from September to March, the translation of the atonement or expiation from the one month or the other was included and foreshadowed. The month Abib was by God's appointment made the first and principal month of the whole year, with reference to this great work 1024
of final atonement or expiation, which was to be

wrought in it by the bloody sacrifice of the High Priest, in which all other sacrifices and solemnities had their end and final accomplishment. There was no legal feast of atonement to be celebrated after it.

9. Again, for circumstance of time, it was most fitting and congruous that the second tabernacle should be erected at the same time and season wherein the first tabernacle was erected, that the High Priest of the new testament, or everlasting tabernacle, should be consecrated at the same season wherein the high priest of the old testament, or earthly tabernacle, was consecrated. Now the first tabernacle was erected, and Aaron the high priest thereof consecrated, in the first month Abib, as is apparent from Exodus xl. 2. The tabernacle was begun to be set up upon the first day of that month, and was twelve days in erection. Aaron was seven days in his consecration, but whether he was consecrated in the first seven days of the month, or whether his consecration begun from the eighth day and lasted to the fifteenth, is all one for congruity of circumstance between the consecration of Aaron and the consecration of our High Priest. Sometimes it so falls out that the evangelical mysteries begin where the legal shadows do end, and are as it were ushered in by them; sometimes again the mysteries fulfilled upon the same day wherein the legal services or solemnities which foreshadowed them were, or ought to have been, celebrated. But it is more than probable from many circumstances, Lev. viii, that Aaron's consecration did not begin till the seventh or eighth day of the month Abib, and ended the fourteenth or fifteenth.

CHAP. XXV.

In what Respects the Consecration of Aaron, and of his Sons, did especially prefigure the Consecration of the Son of God; and in what Respects they specially differ. That the Consecration of Aaron did in divers Respects serve as a Foil to set forth the Excellency of the Consecration of the Son of God.

CONCERNING the consecration of Aaron and his sons, you may read at large, Exod. xxix. Levit. viii. Their consecration consisted partly in the sacrifices offered by Moses for them, partly in other services or solemnities, either performed by them, or done unto them. The priests of the law, even Aaron the first high priest himself, was to be consecrated by Moses the man of God. The High Priest of the new testament was to be consecrated by God the Father, by him that had sworn to make him a priest after the order of Melchisedec. We are not to parallel the Son of God and Aaron according to every part or solemnity of their consecration, at least we are not to compare every part or particular in kind. For in Aaron's consecration there be many circumstances which necessarily imply, presuppose, or argue such imperfections and defects, either in Aaron's person, or in the sacrifices or rites by which he was consecrated, as may not so much as be imagined in our 1025
High Priest, in his sacrifice, or any part of his service: but rather these imperfections in Aaron's person, in his sacrifice or priesthood, do serve as foils to set forth the excellent and absolute perfection of our High Priest's person, of his sacrifice, and of his priesthood. First, it was a defect or imperfection in Aaron's person that he should stand in need of a sin offering, or of an offering of atonement, to make him capable of the dignity of legal priesthood, or of his consecration to

it. This dissimilitude between the person of the high priest of the old testament and the High Priest of the new is expressed by our apostle, Heb. vii. 26, 27: *For such an High Priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's: for this he did once, when he offered up himself.*

2. So far was our High Priest from standing in need of any sin offering or sacrifice for himself, that he himself became the full and perfect atonement for the sins of the whole world, even the sin offering for the high priests themselves which yearly made atonement for the people. Again, it was a defect or imperfection in the sacrifices by which Aaron was consecrated, in that they were more than one, or of diverse kinds: for of bloody sacrifices there were three; a bullock for a sin offering, and two rams, the one for a fire offering or sacrifice of rest, the other the ram of consecration or of filling the hand. It argues, again, a greater defect in all these sacrifices, whether you take them *conjunctim* or *divisim*, in that they were to be often offered. And this defect or imperfection in the substance of these sacrifices, or in the sacrificer, or his service, the Lord sought to recompense or supply by the perfection of the number of several times, or solemnities in which they were offered: for these sacrifices were to be offered seven times: Aaron and his sons were to fill their hands seven days together before their consecration was accomplished. Our High Priest, as he had no sacrifice but one, to wit, the sacrifice of himself, so was he to offer this sacrifice, or this sacrifice was to be offered but once, either for his own or for our consecration. And by this once

offering of this one sacrifice, he did fully and absolutely accomplish whatsoever was foreshadowed by the full number of the legal sacrifices or solemnities which were used at the consecration of Aaron. For the number of seven is a full number, yea a number full of mysteries, and wherein the Spirit of God seems to delight. Herein then, as hath been intimated before, the High Priest of the new testament and the high priest of the old exactly agree; that as the consecration of the one, so the consecration of the other was to last seven days. Aaron and his sons, as you may read (Exod. xxix.), were commanded to attend at the door of the tabernacle seven days together. Our Saviour, after his entrance into Jerusalem, did attend the temple five days together, teaching and instructing the people, and in curing the blind and lame which were brought unto him. He was more frequent and diligent in performing those and the like acts of mercy, than Aaron and his sons were in offering sacrifices or performing other legal services. And having purged the material temple from brothelry and merchandising, restoring it to the use of prayer, which the high priests of the law had turned or suffered to be turned into a den of thieves; having thus purged the temple on the first or second day of his consecration, and afterwards hallowed it by his doctrine, by his presence and exercise of holiness in it, he went the sixth 1026
day into his heavenly sanctuary, into paradise itself, to purify and sanctify it with his own blood, to consecrate it for us, as Moses at Aaron's consecration did purify and consecrate the material sanctuary and the altar with the blood of bullocks and of rams. Yet was not this consecration as yet fully accomplished: the period or accomplishing of it is from the moment of his resur-

rection or reunition of his soul and body. As Aaron first, so every high priest of the law after him was to continue seven days in his consecration, that the seventh day, or sabbath, might pass over him; because no man, as they conceive, can be a complete priest until a sabbath have gone over his head. But the sabbath of the Lord did never so exactly pass over any high priest in his consecration as it did over the High Priest of the new testament. However it were of Aaron's, it was the last day of his consecration. It was to him indeed a day of rest, after six days of labour, of watching, praying, fasting, and after he had accomplished the works which his Father had sent him to do, by the torments of his bloody sacrifice, and whatsoever pains he suffered upon the cross. But after he had said *Consummatum est*, which was in the end of the sixth day, in that day whereon God first had made man, and the Son of God had now redeemed man, his consecration was not yet consummate; his body was to rest the seventh day in the grave, and his soul in bliss all the sabbath or seventh day. And after the heavenly sanctuary had been thus hallowed by the rest and presence of his blessed soul in it on the seventh day, his soul and body were reunited upon the first day in the morning, at that time when the light begun to be distinguished from darkness. And this was the time of the accomplishment of his consecration or of his admission to the priesthood after the order of Melchisedec.

3. So then to be seven days in consecration was no imperfection in Aaron and his priesthood, but rather a mystery to be accomplished in the consecration of the Son of God. That Aaron should have his hands filled seven days together by Moses with the sacrifices

which were offered for him, was an argument as well of his own personal imperfections, as of the imperfections of his sacrifices. Howbeit the mystery or moral implied by the *filling of the hand*, was no point of imperfection; and, for this reason, was as exactly fulfilled in the consecration of our High Priest as in the consecration of Aaron. The moral implied by the *filling of the hand*, was to signify that Aaron did not usurp the dignity of priesthood, or take it up (as we say) at his own hand, but was hereunto lawfully and solemnly called by God, from whom he had received whatsoever he had. The inference hence made by our apostle is this, Heb. v. 4, 5: *No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. So also Christ glorified not himself to be made an high priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my son, to-day have I begotten thee.* He that had thus said unto him did likewise prepare or fit a body to him for his sacrifice; he did not fill his hand with sacrifices or burnt offerings.

4. It was an imperfection likewise in Aaron's person or his sacrifices, or in both: his consecration itself was imperfect, in that his consecration did not serve for the consecration of his sons or his successors; all of them were to have their several sacrifices or other solemn rites of consecration. The perfection which 1027
this foil sets forth in our High Priest and his consecration is this, *that we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.* Heb. x. 10. *Every priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins: but this man,* (or rather *this priest,*) *after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God; from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his*

footstool. For by one offering he hath consecrated for ever them that are sanctified, vv. 11—14.

5. As many as have reaped or hereafter shall reap any benefit, either from God's oath to Abraham, concerning his seed, in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed, or from the renewing of this oath to David concerning his Son, which was to be the dispenser of this blessing, and to be made a priest after the order of Melchisedec, who blessed Abraham; all and every one of them are consecrated to the participation of this blessing by the consecration of this our High Priest the Son of God. *The law* (saith the apostle) *makes men high priests which have infirmity; but the word of the oath, which was since the law, maketh the Son High Priest, who is consecrated for evermore.* And by this his consecration we, even all the Israel of God, are consecrated by an everlasting consecration. So saith the apostle, Rev. i. 5: *Jesus Christ, the first begotten of the dead, and Prince of the kings of the earth, hath washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests* (that is, priests after the order of Melchisedec) *unto God and his Father.* By this his consecration likewise to his everlasting priesthood we are hallowed and consecrated as temples to our God. So saith St. Peter, 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5: *To whom coming, as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God, and precious, ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.*

6. But to take the several bloody sacrifices which were offered at the consecration of Aaron and his sons into more particular consideration. Albeit these sacrifices were all imperfect, not only absolutely, or in

respect of our High Priest's everlasting sacrifice, but even in respect of these spiritual sacrifices mentioned by St. Peter, which we are to offer unto God; yet were they all in their kind most perfect. The best and chiefest in the whole rank of legal or Aaronical sacrifices, they are as so many lineaments pourtraying in part or foreshadowing that body or accomplishment, not of them only, but of all other sacrifices. All meet in it as so many lines in their centre. The first bloody sacrifice that was offered at the consecration of Aaron was a bullock. The priests might offer no other sacrifice than this for their own sin offering, because this was of all other the best; and yet in comparison of this, saith the psalmist, in the person of this our High Priest in his affliction, *I will praise the name of God with a song, and will magnify him with thanksgiving. This also shall please the Lord better than an ox or bullock that hath horns and hoofs;* that is, *beginning to spread the horn and hoof,* for at that time they were most fit for sacrifice. Psalm lxix. 30, 31. His meaning was, that this sacrifice of thanksgiving should be more acceptable unto God than the very best sacrifice of the law. And so it was, especially whilst offered by our High Priest, even when he offered his bloody sacrifice upon the cross, and after his enemies had given him vinegar in his thirst to drink. For after he had uttered that pitiful song of the psalmist, Psalm xxii. (whether only out of his grief or anguish, or upon other respects and intentions), *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* he finally commends his soul, his spirit, unto his Father, 1028
in the words of the psalmist's song, Psalm xxxi. 5: *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.* The uttering of both these songs in this anguish of soul, argues he loved his God and our God, his Father and

our Father, with all his soul, with all his heart, with all his strength; and his performance of this great commandment (as the scribe which approved his answer to the Pharisees, to the Herodians, and the Sadducees, had a little before confessed, upon his answer to his question) was *more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices*, Mark. xii. 32—34.

CHAP. XXVI.

In what Respects the Bullock offered at the Consecration of Aaron, &c., and the Rites of Offering it, did prefigure the bloody Sacrifice of the Son of God, especially the Circumstances of the Place wherein it was offered.

BUT you will ask, Wherein did the sacrifice of the bullock which was offered for a sin offering or atonement at Aaron's consecration, or the circumstances in offering it, punctually foreshadow the bloody sacrifice which our High Priest offered at his consecration, or the manner or circumstance of his offering it? It did, in circumstance at least, prefigure the sacrifice of our High Priest after the same manner, or in respect of the same circumstance, that the annual sacrifices of atonement did prefigure it; of which hereafter. Inasmuch as the head and flesh, &c. of the bullock for sin offering or atonement for Aaron at his consecration was to be offered or burnt without the camp, not to be burnt upon the altar, it fell under the same law and undergoes the same considerations which the annual sacrifices in the feast of atonement did. For so it is expressly commanded, Exod. xxix. 14: *That the flesh of the bullock, and his skin, should be burnt without the camp, because it was a sin offering.* Now it was an universal and peremptory law, that no flesh of any sacrifice, whose blood was brought into the sanctuary

to make atonement, should be eaten by the priests in the sanctuary.

2. It was again a law as peremptory, that the priests, especially the high priests, might (that is, had power to) eat the flesh of any sacrifice whose blood was not brought into the sanctuary. For to this purpose Moses, Levit. x. 17, 18, expostulateth with Aaron's sons which were left after the death of Nadab and Abihu: *Wherefore have ye not eaten the sin offering in the holy place, for it is the holy of holies, and it* (viz. the flesh of the sin offering) *he hath given to you to bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before the Lord? Behold, the blood of it was not brought in; behold indeed you should have eaten it in the holy place as I commanded you.* Aaron, in his apology for his sons against this accusation of Moses, in no case questions the truth or extent of this commandment, but rather excuseth himself and his sons for not observing the purport of the law as the case stood with them; his two sons Nadab and Abihu being lately consumed with fire issuing out from before the Lord, for offering strange fire (*which he had not commanded them*) upon his altar. And seeing that although they had put off 1029
all the respect of the obedience of his sons, yet could he not put off the affection of a loving father towards them, or suddenly cease to mourn for their untimely death; whereas to have eaten the sacrifices in the holy place with a sad countenance or heavy heart had been to pollute it. So that this sad and woful accident made the eating of the sin offering in the holy place unlawful or unexpedient to him and his sons, which ordinarily or in case no such accident had befallen them, had not only been lawful but necessary. But seeing the blood of the bullock offered for Aaron's sin

offering at his consecration had not been brought into the sanctuary, and seeing no such woful accident or legal impediment had at this time befallen Aaron and his sons, it may justly be questioned, what was the reason they did not eat the flesh of this their sin offering or atonement? It was a sufficient warrant unto them not to eat it, because the Lord had forbidden it, Exod. xxix. 14. But if it be demanded what was the reason or intent of this law, or rather of this particular exception from the general law by which they were commanded to eat it? some make answer, that Aaron and his sons were not as yet complete priests, or priests already consecrated, but in their consecration only, and therefore were not comprehended under the general law which commanded the priest, forbidding all others, to eat the flesh of the sin offering, whose blood was not brought into the sanctuary. But this reason concludes only in probability against Aaron and his sons, who did now attend their consecration; it no ways concludes against Moses, who did consecrate them, who was not only permitted but commanded by God to eat of all the sacrifices or offerings which Aaron's sons or successors might lawfully eat; yet did not Moses eat any part of the bullock offered at Aaron's consecration for a sin offering or atonement, for God had expressly commanded it to be burnt without the camp. Their answer therefore to that former demand is more pertinent, who say, that no high priest, whether ordinarily called or extraordinarily, (as Moses was for the consecration of Aaron and his sons,) might eat of any sacrifice which was offered for a sin offering or atonement for the priests themselves, although the blood of it were not brought into the sanctuary. Of the sin offerings for the people, whose blood was not brought

into the sanctuary, the priests might eat, they were to eat.

3. This commandment for them to eat of the people's sin offering, argues the sins of the people were to be borne or taken away by the priest. The prohibition for the priests to eat the sin offerings made for themselves, argues the sins of the priest could not be borne or taken away by the priests of the law or their sacrifices, but were to expect a better sacrifice of a better High Priest: the legal sacrifices in the mean time were to be offered in a place prefiguring the place wherein this better sacrifice was to be offered, a place without the gates of Jerusalem. Whiles the people wandered in the wilderness without any settled habitation, or city to dwell in, the sacrifice or substance of the sin offering was to be consumed with fire without the trenches, or bounds, wheresoever they did encamp, as soldiers do in the open field, near unto the ark of the testament. But after the ark had found a settled habitation or resting place in the temple which Solomon built, the city of Jerusalem, in which the temple stood, became the camp of Israel. And this and other like solemnities and services, which were commanded to be performed without the camp, whiles the people 1030
wandered in the wilderness, were to be performed without the gates of Jerusalem, albeit the sacrifice was to be offered in the temple: whence seeing our Saviour's body was the offering for sin, or the sacrifice of atonement, by which the mysteries imported by all other sacrifices were fulfilled, it was to be consumed or brought into the dust of death in mount Calvary, or Golgotha, or some place without the city. So that the apostle's argument, Heb. xiii, drawn from the annual sacrifices of atonement, concludes as punctually for this sacrifice of atonement or sin offering at Aaron's conse-

cration: *We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle. For the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin,* (as also of those beasts which were offered for the priests' sin offering at the consecration, albeit their blood were not brought into the sanctuary,) *are burned without the camp. Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate.* Now this sanctification of God's people by Christ's blood, was their consecration with him to be kings and priests, as he was now made King and Priest, that is, a Priest after the order of Melchisedec; and, as he himself saith, John xvii. 19, *For their sakes I sanctify myself,*) that is, I undergo the rites of consecration prefigured by the law,) *that they also might be sanctified through the truth,* or *truly sanctified,* that is, after a better manner than they could be sanctified or consecrated by the legal sacrifices, ceremonies, or services of the law.

4. The second sort of bloody sacrifices offered by Moses at the consecration of Aaron and his sons, were two rams, the one for a burnt offering to the Lord for a sweet savour and offering made by fire unto the Lord, Exod. xxix. 18. The mystery hereby foresignified at our Saviour's consecration is expressed by the apostle, Ephes. v. 1, 2: *Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children; and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour.* The other ram was to be offered as a peace offering, and is called by Moses, Exod. xxix. 26, *the ram of Aaron's consecration,* because Aaron and his sons were to be anointed with the blood of it.

CHAP. XXVII.

In what Respects the Ram of the Consecration, and the Ram which God did provide for a Burnt Offering instead of Isaac, did prefigure the Sacrifice of the Son of God. Of other special Rites wherein Aaron at his Consecration, and in the Function of his Priesthood, did prefigure the Consecration and Priesthood of the Son of God.

Now if we consider the special references of the Aaronical priesthood, there could no fitter sacrifice be offered for Aaron and his sons at their consecration, than the sacrifice of rams; no other sacrifices used in the law could be so fit an emblem or representation of our High Priest's sacrifice at his consecration. The points whereto the Aaronical priesthood (whether during the time of their consecration, or after Aaron 1031
and his sons were consecrated priests) had peculiar reference, were two. The first, the solemn memorial, the commemoration or reiteration of God's covenant made with Abraham and with his seed, or the continual acceptance of it, by performing the obedience which God required at their hands in all their sacrifices. The second was a perpetual representation of the accomplishment of this covenant on God's part, in and by the promised seed or Messias. God had promised by oath to Abraham, that in his seed, not only Abraham's seed after the flesh, but all the nations of the earth that follow the steps of Abraham, should be blessed. And in this promise confirmed by oath it was implied, as hath been often mentioned before, that the Son of God should become Abraham's seed, and that the seed of Abraham thus made the Son of God should be offered up to God in such a manner as God required Abraham to offer up his son Isaac, that is, in a true and bloody sacrifice. Isaac's approach to death was a type, a

figure, or representation of our Saviour's bloody death. Isaac's strange deliverance from this bloody death, menaced by his father's outstretched hand, armed with a bloody knife, was a type or shadow of our Saviour's resurrection from death, which God his Father had not only threatened, but inflicted upon him. Now as that which Abraham intended to have done to his son Isaac was accomplished by God upon his only Son, so Abraham's words to Isaac, when he intended to offer him up in bloody sacrifice, became a true prophecy of our Saviour's bloody sacrifice. Isaac bearing the wood of the burnt offering upon his back, and observing his father to carry fire in the one hand and a knife in the other, no creature in the world besides themselves being present, moved this question: *Behold the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb for a burnt offering?* And Abraham answers, *God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering, my son,* Gen. xxii. 7, 8. Whatsoever the natural construction of Abraham's answer in these words might import, Abraham at this time had no other intention than to offer up his son Isaac for a burnt offering. Howbeit his words without wrong to their grammatical construction in the original might imply as much, and, as the Hebrews conceive, they did to Isaac's apprehension imply as much, as if he had said, 'God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering, even thee, my son;' or, 'God will provide thee, my son, for a burnt offering.' And from this apprehension, or construction of Abraham's words, Isaac (as the Hebrews have a tradition) forthwith became willing to be offered up in sacrifice for a burnt offering, suffering himself to be bound upon the altar by his father, being able, if he had been so disposed, to make resistance, as being now at least twenty-five years of age.

2. However it were, Isaac was as willing to be

offered as Abraham was to offer him. And yet Abraham's former words are more exactly fulfilled, even for the present, than if Isaac had been then offered upon the altar. For though God had commanded Abraham to offer his only begotten son Isaac for a burnt offering, yet he had been a burnt offering of Abraham's providing; but the ram which was caught by the horns in the thicket was a burnt offering of God's provision merely: it was no part of Abraham's store, of Abraham's provision, forecast or foresight. The ram questionless came not thither from any neighbour place by chance; God did provide it for a burnt offering by a 1032
manner extraordinary and miraculous. For if David would not offer a sacrifice to God of that which cost him nothing, or of that which was another man's by former possession, until he had made it his own by a better title than by free donation, or his own by a just price or valuable consideration, Abraham doubtless would not have offered a sacrifice unto the Lord of that which he might justly suspect to be the goods of another man, until he had bought it of the known owner. But knowing this ram to have been of God's own or mere provision by means miraculous or extraordinary, he forthwith offered it for a burnt offering instead of his son. So then, the league or covenant betwixt God and Abraham is concluded and subscribed unto on Abraham's part with the sacrifice of a ram, and was to be continued or accepted of by Abraham's posterity with continuation of like sacrifices. The high priests themselves, who were in their rank and order mediators or intercessors for continuing and establishing this covenant between God and Abraham's seed, were to be solemnly consecrated by the sacrifice of rams; and in memorial or commemoration of Isaac's deliverance from death, the Jews did

celebrate that day wherein God provided this sacrifice instead of Isaac, that was (according to their calendar) the first of September, or feast of trumpets, with the sacrifice of rams. But they considered not that in the words of God's oath to Abraham, it was implied that God would give his Son, his only Son, for such a bloody sacrifice or burnt offering as Abraham intended to have made of his son Isaac. They considered not that in Abraham's answer to Isaac, *The Lord would provide himself of a burnt offering*, and in the miraculous provision of the ram for a burnt offering instead of Isaac, it was implied or foresignified, as well by matter of fact as by express word of prophecy, that God would provide matter of sacrifice when he should offer his only Son, after a more excellent miraculous manner than he had now done the ram instead of Isaac. For seeing the Son of God, as God, could not die, he therefore provides him a mortal body taken from the seed of Abraham, the substance of the blessed Virgin, and so unites it to his Divine person, that whilst this seed of Abraham was offered in sacrifice, the Son of God was likewise offered; that whilst Abraham's seed was thus consecrated by bloody sacrifice, the Son of God was likewise consecrated to be the High Priest after the order of Melchisedec, that is, to be the Author, Donor, and Dispenser of that blessing, which Melchisedec in the name of the most high God, whose priest he was, bestowed on Abraham, and which God, upon Abraham's readiness to offer Isaac, did by solemn oath bind himself to perform, and to perform it in Abraham's seed. The necessary consequence or abstract of which oath, as it is before manifested, was this, that Abraham's seed should be that most high God, in whose name Melchisedec had blessed Abraham.

3. The unusual and unexpected fulfilling of Abraham's words to Isaac, Gen. xxii. 8, *Jehovah-jireh, The Lord will see,* or *The Lord will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering*, gave Abraham occasion to name that place *Jehovah-jireh,* as also to a common proverb taken up from the name of this place, and from the event, *In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen,* Gen. xxii. 14, or, as the original without straining will more naturally bear, *In the mountain the Lord,* or *Jehovah, will be seen.* And this proverb taken up upon these occasions, in whether sense or construction 1033
you list to take it, was more than a proverb, a true mystery, or mystical prophecy exactly fulfilled in the crucifying of our Saviour. The Lord in the mount did see, and was seen by his special providence, when he provided the ram for a sacrifice instead of Isaac. The mountain whereon Abraham purposed to have offered Isaac, as he was commanded by God, for a burnt offering, was one of the mountains in the land of Moriah, and that (as all interpreters agree) was about the place wherein Jerusalem was afterwards built; most are of opinion, that it was that part of mount Zion wherein the temple was afterwards built, wherein the threshingfloor of Araunah stood, which David consecrated for the altar of God. But whether it were this mountain, or mount Calvary, I will not dispute. Mount Calvary likewise was in the land of Moriah, and in this mountain *Jehovah did see, and was seen;* he did in this mountain *provide himself of a lamb for a burnt offering;* he himself became a lamb or visible sacrifice for our sins, by whose blood he himself, and we in him were consecrated priests to God the Father. The other circumstances, whether concerning Isaac or the lamb, were visibly and remarkably accomplished in the sacrifice of the Son of God. Isaac

did bear wood for the sacrifice up into the mountain, where Abraham intended to sacrifice him; the Son of God did bear the wood of the cross whereon he was sacrificed, at least part of it, up to mount Calvary. The ram which God provided instead of Isaac, was caught by the horns in the thicket of brambles or thorns; and the Lamb of God, the Son of God, marched to his cross with a crown of thorns and brambles upon his head, as most of the fathers and best modern interpreters collect from the evangelists' story. For where it is said that they took off the purple robe, and other royal ensigns wherewith they had in mockery invested him, it is not mentioned that they took off this crown of thorns; this was the thicket wherein the murderers caught him. For as ye know he was condemned upon pretence that he affected the crown of David, and suffered himself to be entitled and saluted the King of the Jews; and in derision of this great mystery, which they understood not, they put a crown of thorns upon his head, and crucify him in it.

4. But whilst the princes of the earth and the rulers take counsel against him, while the heathen soldiers and Jewish people do rage and make a mock of him, he that sat in the heavens laughed them to scorn; what they did act in jest or scorn here on earth, he turns into earnest, and ratifies by an everlasting decree in heaven. They clothe the Son of God with a purple or royal robe, and bowing their knees, thus they salute him, *Hail, King of the Jews!* unwittingly foreprophesying, as Caiaphas did, as well by matter of fact as by word, that God would now anoint the Son of David to be that King over Zion, to whom all knees should bow, of things in heaven, of things on the earth, of things under the earth. They in despite and bitter scoffs wreath a crown of thorns or brambles about his

head, and fastened it on with a reed or mock-sceptre, which they had put into his hand, little considering that he which sat in the heavens did consecrate him here by this part of his afflictions to the wearing of that everlasting crown of glory which David, psalm cxxxii, had foretold *should flourish upon him, whilst his enemies were clothed with shame*, ver. 18. And of this crown of glory, as well the royal diadem or crown of David, wherein his successors were enthronized, as the 1034
crown of holiness wherein Aaron and his successors the high priests were consecrated, were but the shadows or models, and so no question was the crown upon the ark or mercy-seat. And it is a point which I will commend unto the serious reader's observation, specially in the reading of the Apocalypse or the Revelation, that in all or most part of the visions made to St. John, the disciple whom he loved, of Christ in his glory, he still appears, and his appearance is still emblazoned by this disciple, in some one or other of the robes which Aaron used at his consecration. Sometimes he appears with *a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle*[r]. Such were the *robes and girdle* of Aaron the high priest; and to shew that his saints were consecrated likewise in his consecration, his saints or angels appeared thus clothed unto John, Rev. xv. 5, 6: *And after that I looked, and, behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened: and the seven angels came out of the temple, having the seven plagues, clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles.* Sometimes he appears with a crown upon his head.

5. His palace or kingdom likewise, his walk or verge is emblazoned or set forth by the material temple, the

[r] Rev. i. 13.

ministry likewise of his glorified saints and angels. But of this hereafter.

6. Those temporary flashes of royal salutations and greetings which the multitude tendered unto him when he came into Jerusalem to be consecrated, were ratified by an everlasting decree in heaven. So it is said, Rev. vii. 9, 10: *After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.* This was the accomplishment of the multitude's crying *Hosanna to the Son of David,* with palm branches in their hands, and those which thus cried in heaven *are they* (as the angel instructs St. John) *which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them,* Rev. vii. 14, 15, &c. This washing of their garments in the blood of the Lamb was likewise prefigured in the consecration of Aaron, Exod. xxix. 21: *And thou shalt take of the blood that is upon the altar, and of the anointing oil, and sprinkle it upon Aaron, and upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon the garments of his sons with him: and he shall be hallowed, and his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments with him.* This blood wherewith their garments was sprinkled was the blood of the ram of the consecration, whose blood likewise Moses, as it is in ver. 20, was commanded to take *and put it upon the tip of the right ear of Aaron, and upon the tip of the right ear of his sons, and upon the*

thumb of their right hand, and upon the great toe of their right foot, and sprinkle the blood &c. This ceremony or service was literally and punctually fulfilled in the consecration of our High Priest. The high priest of the law was consecrated with foreign blood, with the blood of rams; the High Priest of the new testament was consecrated ἐν αἵματι ἰδίῳ, *with his own blood*, and in this blood, not only his hands, his feet, or ears were sprinkled or anointed, but his whole body was anointed or bathed. For though he 1035
was always internally sanctified, and though this his internal sanctification was most absolute and perfect from the womb, yet would the Lord have him thus visibly and externally consecrated with his own blood, that we by the same blood might be sanctified and consecrated after a better manner than Aaron was by the blood of the ram of consecration. The moral implied in sprinkling of Aaron's right ear, the thumb of his right hand, and the great toe of his right foot, is this; our ears, which are the sense of discipline, and the gate by which faith entereth into our hearts, must be consecrated and hallowed by the blood of our High Priest, that we may know God's will; our hands and feet likewise, which are the instruments of service, are hallowed and sanctified by his blood, that we may walk in his ways, and do his will. Finally, as both our bodies and souls have been redeemed by his blood, so both must be consecrated in it, and enabled by it unto his service.

7. Another ceremony or service at Aaron's consecration was the offering up of *one loaf of bread, one cake of oiled bread, and one wafer wherewith Aaron's and his sons' hands were first to be filled, and afterwards to be burnt upon the altar for a burnt offering, for a sweet savour unto the Lord*, Exod. xxix. 23—25. The

mystery signified by this and the other bloody sacrifice may best be gathered from that which hath afore been said concerning the circumcision of Isaac, and of Abraham's seed, or concerning God's demanding Isaac for a burnt offering, which was then observed out of Rupertus, an ancient writer, God did demand at Abraham's hands, that he might thereby tie himself to give his own Son unto Abraham and his seed. To which may now be added the testimony of St. Chrysostom, in his comments upon our Saviour's words to the woman of Samaria, *Da mihi bibere—Give me to drink.* "The Fountain of Life, sitting besides the fountain, calls for drink, not that he was desirous to take, but rather to give drink: Give me to drink, saith he, that I may make thee drink the water of immortality. I thirst after the salvation of men's souls, not that I might drink, but that I may give them salvation to drink. I imitate my Father, who said to Abraham, *Offer me up thy son, thy only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, for a burnt offering.*" This he said, not as if he had desired to accept Abraham's son, but that he determined to give his own Son for the sins of the world, as St. John saith, chap. iii. 16. In like manner God required the flesh and blood of bullocks and of rams, with unleavened bread, to be offered up in sacrifice unto him at the consecration of Aaron, not that he stood in need to eat the flesh of bulls or bread of wheat, or drink the blood of rams, but that he then purposed to consecrate for us and to give unto us his only Son, whose flesh is meat indeed, whose blood is drink indeed, whose body is the bread of life, which cometh down from heaven, which whoso eateth shall live for ever, for he that truly eateth is consecrated by it to be a king and priest for ever unto God the Father.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1036

A brief Recapitulation of what hath been said in this Parallel between the Consecration of Aaron and the Consecration of the Son of God; the Conclusion of the whole Treatise concerning it.

To recapitulate what hath been said before: the beginning of the everlasting priesthood according to the order of Melchisedec is the determining of the Aaronical priesthood, unless we shall say, as perhaps we ought, that this priesthood with the legal rites and sacrifices did expire with the last mortal breath of him who is now immortal.

2. The everlasting sacrifice whereby he is consecrated an everlasting Priest was then accomplished, and the cessation of the Aaronical priesthood proclaimed, when he said, *Consummatum est*, and commended his spirit unto God. Yet is it not probable that his consecration, or the consecration of the everlasting sanctuary, were at the same instant accomplished. His sacred soul perfumed with the fresh odour and fragrancy of his sweetsmelling sacrifice, anointed with his most precious blood, into whatsoever other place it afterwards went, instantly repaired into the holiest of holies, into paradise itself. This is the accomplishment of our atonement, prefigured by the high priest's entering into the holy place with blood, and the period of all sacrifices for his own or our consecration.

3. That the veil through which the high priest after the order of Aaron did enter into the most holy place, should rend asunder at the very instant wherein the soul and spirit of this our High Priest did pass through the veil of his flesh rent and torn, into his celestial sanctuary, was a lively emblem to all observant

spectators that he was no intruder, but called by God. And reason they had to observe this sign or accident, in that he had promised to one of them that were crucified with him, *Hodie mecum eris in paradiso.*

4. The public solemnity of consecration hath ever been a special testimony or adjunct of lawful calling; and Christ's consecration was more solemn and public than Aaron's was. Such it was as flesh and blood could not affect, such as nothing but filial obedience to his heavenly Father could have moved this our High Priest to admit, because it was to be accomplished by a lingering and a bloody death. Moses at the consecration of Aaron is commanded to *gather all the congregation together unto the door of the tabernacle,* Levit. viii. *Ad tria voluit Dominus populum congregari: primum ut pro eo sacerdos offerret, eumque expiaret: secundum, ad instituendum sacerdotem, ut sciret populus Aaron et filios ejus præfici sibi in sacerdotes et mediatores; et de cætero commendaret se illi. Tertio ne esset inter eos aliquis, qui postea sacerdotium ambiret postquam omnes sciebant Aaronem a Deo sacerdotem institutum.* Oleaster.

5. For the like reasons God would have the consecration of his Son accomplished at the passover, that is, as a father speaks, at the metropolis of Jewish feasts, the most solemn, public, and universal meeting that
1037 any one people or nation in the world ever had, besides the concourse and confluence of strangers at the time of our Saviour's passion. The manner of whose death, and the signs and wonders then exhibited, made the heathen centurion, a man altogether ignorant of these sacred mysteries, to confess that this Jesus, whom he had seen crucified, was the Son of God. But the time, the manner, and consequence of his resurrection most

directly proves as well his priesthood as his calling to it to have been from God; both more excellent than Aaron's was.

6. We see it experienced, Numb. xvi. 17, that notwithstanding the public solemnity of Aaron's consecration by Moses, there wanted not such rebellious spirits then as the world is full of now, which thought themselves altogether as holy, and as fit to be high priests as he. After the earth had swallowed up the principals in this conspiracy, the headless multitude, though terrified for a while with the fearful disaster of their ringleaders, conspire afresh against Moses and Aaron, and had utterly perished in this rebellion, had not Aaron run into the midst of the congregation which sought his life, and stood with his censer, as with a shield of defence, betwixt them and death. But seeing neither the fearful examples shewed upon Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, nor Aaron's late compassion towards them, *when wrath was gone out from the Lord against them, and the plague was kindled amongst them*, were able to quell their jealousies or appease their murmurings, the Lord lastly made the rod of Levi alone, inscribed with Aaron's name, amongst all the rods of the tribes of Israel, to bring forth branch, leaf, blossom, and fruit in one night; and thus beautified with flower and fruit, which were not to fade in so many years as they had been hours in springing, to be laid up in the ark of the testimony, to stay the murmurings of the children of Israel, and to be as a witness against them whensoever they should question Aaron's calling.

7. The tribes of Israel were never so maliciously and stubbornly bent against Moses and Aaron, as the tribe of Levi, and Aaron's successors with their complices, were against the Son of David, to whom the Lord

destinated the priesthood after the order of Melchisedec by solemn oath. Though the earth did quake, and the rocks rent in sunder; though the graves did open, and give up their dead, more desirous to swallow up these rebellious miscreants quick than to swallow up Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, as doubtless they had done, unless this Priest of the most high God had made an atonement for them, (saying, *Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do;*) yet their murmurings cease not with his life; their malice pursues him into his grave.

8. The last and peremptory sign reserved by the wisdom of God, either to stay their murmurings, or to condemn them with Korah, with Dathan and Abiram, unto the everlasting pit, was the causing of this Rod of Jesse, this Branch of David, whom these cruel and merciless men had quite stripped of flower, of leaf, of branch, bereft of sap, and as it were scorched and baked in the fire of affliction, to recover sap, and leaf, and flower again, to bring forth the fruit which never shall fade, now consecrated to be the Tree of Life to all the nations, enthronized in the heavenly tabernacle, and planted at the right hand of God, *until his enemies*, by the rod of his power, *be made his footstool*[s]. We have seen in part how fitly that testimony of the psalmist, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten*
1038 *thee*, being understood of Christ raised from the dead, is avouched by our apostle to prove Christ's calling, his consecration and advancement to the priesthood here mentioned, to have been from God; and from the event answering to the psalmist's prophecy, and from that other testimony of psalm cx, often mentioned, doth St. Peter cause the murmuring of the people of Israel to cease. For from the two premises, Acts ii. 36,

[s] Psalm cx.

he thus concludes: *Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ;* that is as much as if he had said, both King and Priest. By these declarations he gained three thousand souls, which otherwise had perished in their murmurings.

9. So then the day of his resurrection is the day wherein the dignity of everlasting priesthood is actually collated upon him, and as he himself testifieth, *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.* And if *all power*, then as well the power of priesthood as the power royal. And as High Priest, he gives commission to his disciples to teach and baptize. The day of his ascension, or placing at the right hand of God, is the day of his solemn enthronization, and immediately upon this he sent forth *the rod of his strength out of Zion.* For by this *rod* (foretold by the psalmist, psalm cx,) we are to understand that power wherewith his disciples were to be endued from above, which they were to expect in Jerusalem at the feast of pentecost. The effusion of the Holy Spirit, and implanting the law of the gospel in their hearts upon that day, or the day following, wherein the law of Moses was proclaimed, was a proclamation to all the world, that the priesthood was translated or changed by this manifest translation or change of the law.

SECTION V.

Of the Resurrection of the Son of God. By what Prophets it was foretold. By what Persons or legal Rites it was forepictured or foreshadowed.

CHAP. XXIX.

In what high Esteem St. Paul did hold the Article of our Saviour's Resurrection and Ascension, &c. That the want of explicit Belief to this grand Article of the Resurrection, did argue rather a Dulness or Slowness to believe the Scriptures, than any Infidelity, or Incredulity, even in such as had seen his Miracles, and had heard him foretell his Death and Rising again, until the Event did manifest unto them the Truth of his former Doctrine and Predictions.

WHEN the doctor of the Gentiles saith, *He esteemed to know nothing* amongst the great masters of knowledge *save Jesus Christ, and him crucified*[t], this exception no way excludes the knowledge of his resurrection from the dead, or implies that he had not the knowledge of this article in equal esteem with the knowledge of his cross. How highly soever he did esteem both mysteries, it doth not argue that he did rate the knowledge of his ascension into heaven, his session at the right hand of God, or his coming thence to judge the quick and the dead, one mite lower. The greatest blessing which he could either praise God for, or pray unto him for, whether for himself or for his beloved Ephesians, was the knowledge (as he terms it) of these grand mysteries: *Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto*

[t] 1 Cor. ii. 2.

all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers; that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him: the eyes of your understanding being enlightened; that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in 1040
that which is to come. Ephes. i. 15, 16, &c. But the high price of the knowledge of these mysteries, and the fervency of his prayers for attaining unto such knowledge, are more pathetically expressed, Phil. iii. 7, &c.: *But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ. Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ, and be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith: that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death; if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead.*

2. The considerations of these raptures of our apostle's joy and hope, occasion or rather revive the relics of my private sorrow and grief, even in this subject of

public joy and comfort. For the bitterest and deepest sting which worldly crosses, or multiplicity of businesses, or other vexations past have left in my thoughts, is this, that my portion for many years in all these (respectively) hath brought a necessity upon me, either not at all, or in my old and decaying days, to publish the fruits of my former labours in these great mysteries, which to my apprehension had been well set in my flourishing and vivid years; or (to borrow an expression from a more sacred and more authentic author[a]) *that the children* (of my desires) *should come now to the birth, when there is least strength left to bring them forth:* yet was the Lord his comfort and strength, who was the author of this complaint; and on the same Lord's gracious goodness, my weakness, whether of memory, judgment, or expression, shall repose itself. As for the articles of Christ's resurrection and ascension, the ingenuous reader cannot expect nor can I hope that I should say much which hath not been said before by many others, especially in this ripe age of learning, these being the themes or subjects of anniversary sermons upon the solemn feasts unto which they properly belong, as well in the court as in the universities, and all other well ordered churches throughout this kingdom; yet somewhat I must say concerning these two points, as being engaged to bring this long treatise concerning the knowledge of Christ and him crucified to some period.

3. The true or Christian belief of any article of the creed includes somewhat more than an opinion, more than a pious opinion or mere probability of its truth; and the knowledge of the mysteries last mentioned, in our apostle's meaning or expression, imports somewhat more than a mere belief of them; more than

[a] Hezekiah, 2 Kings xix. 3.

such a belief, or the sight or experiment of greatest miracles could produce or establish in most docile auditors, whether of our Saviour himself, or of his apostles: for even the best and most docile of the disciples or apostles which had been earwitnesses of his heavenly doctrine, and eyewitnesses of all his miracles, from his baptism or temptation in the wilderness unto his reposal in the grave, did not know half so much concerning the mysteries of his cross, of his passion and bloody death, before his resurrection as they did after it: nor did they so well understand so much of the power and virtue of his resurrection itself, for many days after their experience of the truth of it, as they did after his ascension into heaven, 1041
and the descension of the Holy Ghost upon them; by whose efficacious inspiration or operation in their hearts and souls, the knowledge of all the forementioned articles was much increased, and their belief of the meanest matters which did concern Christ much better rooted and strengthened than it had been before his glorification: his placing at the right hand of God in his throne of majesty did crown their former belief and glorious hopes with fresh joy and comfort.

4. Wherein the knowledge of Christ, and the knowledge of other subjects, whether philosophical or mathematical, or, in other terms, wherein the faculty of theology and sciences properly so called agree or differ, hath been discussed at large in the seventh book of these Commentaries and in the fourth. We are then properly said to know any effect or conclusion in sciences properly so called, or so reputed, when we discern the true cause why it is so, and are assured that it cannot be otherwise. And we are then said to know Christ and him crucified according to the scale of speculative knowledge, when we can discern the

sweet harmony between the evangelical relations, or matters related by the apostles concerning Christ, and the predictions of the prophets, or prefigurations by matters of fact in the law, or legal services, or in sacred histories. Again, as in sciences properly so called, there is a regress or knowledge of the cause by the effect, of the effect by the cause; so there is a two-fold knowledge of Christ, the one speculative, (such as hath been described before,) the other, which is the better, practical or experimental, which latter is better resembled by moral philosophy than by natural experiments or mathematical conclusions.

5. This experimental knowledge of Christ, and of the mysteries whereof we treat, consists in that solid impression which the forementioned speculative knowledge, being lineamented in our brains, doth by the finger of God, that is, by his Holy Spirit, engrave in our hearts and instamp upon our affections. I must begin with the speculative knowledge of these two articles concerning the resurrection and ascension of the Son of God, and conclude with the practical or experimental.

6. The conclusions or declarations of these mysteries are set down by the four evangelists distinctly and accurately, both for substance and historical circumstances, and their several references to former scriptures, avouched not only by them, but by other of the apostles in their canonical writings, especially by St. Paul in his Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Corinthians, and to the Hebrews. The evangelical declaration of this great mystery, with the manner how the belief or knowledge of it was improved or enlarged, is most punctually and clearly related by St. John, chap. xx. This blessed apostle and St. Peter did at the first believe Mary Magdalene's report more

distinctly and expressly than they did the prophetical predictions: *The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre, and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre. Then she runneth, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple, whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him. Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre. So they ran both together: and the other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre. And he stooping down, and looking in, saw the linen* 1042 *clothes lying; yet went he not in. Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the sepulchre, and seeth the linen clothes lie, and the napkin, that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself. Then went in also that other disciple, which came first to the sepulchre, and he saw, and believed. For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead.* Such knowledge or belief of the scripture as for this time St.John had, was further improved by Christ's apparition unto them upon the same day in the evening: *Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. And when he had so said, he shewed unto them his hands and his side. Then were the disciples glad, when they saw the Lord. Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy*

Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained. But Thomas, one of the twelve, called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came. The other disciples therefore said unto him, We have seen the Lord. But he said unto them, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe. And after eight days again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them: then came Jesus, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you. Then saith he to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side: and be not faithless, but believing. And Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God. Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed. Unto some it may seem questionable in what sense or how far that of St. Paul is true, *faith cometh by hearing*, seeing St. Thomas professeth that he would not, and St. John in this place of himself confesseth that he did not, believe one of the fundamental articles of Christian faith, to wit, Christ's resurrection from the dead, until they had seen what they had to believe: yet if we could accurately sift the internal sense or kernel from the husk or shell of words wherein it is contained, it will infer no more than this, that the sight of the eye or miracles seen may be an inducement or introduction unto true belief; they cannot be the true ground or anchor-hold of Christian faith. Such faith must be grounded, and hope truly Christian must be pitched, upon the testimony of Moses or the prophets, or other sacred and canonical writings.

The reason why St. John did not believe our Saviour's resurrection before he saw his empty tomb, and the linen clothes wherein he had been wrapped, was because before this sight he knew not the scripture which he had often heard read or avouched. The sight then of this or of other miracles did but open an entry or passage unto the true knowledge of that which he had formerly heard. But more strange it may seem to all of us, that two so great apostles as St. Peter and St. John, which had been for three years and a half together perpetual auditors of such a Master as *spake as never man spake,* and often eyewitnesses of such works done by him as no man besides him could do, should now be ignorant of that fundamental article of faith whereof at this day to doubt were heresy, which now to deny were infidelity: for if Christ be not risen 1043
from the dead, then the dead shall not arise; and if the dead do not arise, then were both preaching and hearing vain; our faith were vain; both priest and people were in a worse case than infidels; and we Christians should be of all men most miserable.

7. Yet far be it from us to say or think that either of these two apostles were at this time in the state of heretics, or that either of their cases were no better than the cases of infidels; rather it would be a branch of infidelity in us to think that at this time they had no faith. The root of their belief in Christ (as in their Messias and Redeemer) was entire and incorrupt; the stem of it was sound, although until this time it had not shot out into this particular branch of faith. This was the time wherein the actual and express belief of Christ's resurrection from the dead was to blossom and bear fruit even in these two apostles. That it did now break forth in them and bear fruit, was the work of God; that before this time it should keep in and be in

some sort snipped, was the ordinance and dispensation of the same God: for if the knowledge of our Saviour's resurrection had been as express, as explicit and distinct before his death, as it was after his rising from the dead, neither had their love either been so hearty in itself, or so manifest to themselves, nor their faith so lively and cheerful as in the issue both did prove. The heartiness of their love unto him whilst he lived was manifested even unto themselves by their sorrow for his death, which doubtless had been much less, if in the interim they had actually and expressly believed to have seen him again within three days. The strength, the livelihood, or cheerfulness of their faith was truly manifested and experienced in their joyful entertainment of the glad tidings which were brought unto them by Mary Magdalene, and whereof their outward senses were in part witnesses. Their joy could not have been so great, nor their embracement of his resurrection so cheerful and hearty, if it had been expressly and confidently expected by them. It was by so much the welcomer, by how much the accomplishment of it was less thought on.

8. But were these two great apostles altogether without blame, in that before this time they knew not the scripture that Christ was to rise from the dead? They might be more capable or worthy of blame than we to lay any blame upon them; wherefore not to pronounce what I think of them, much less to determine any thing concerning them, I must make bold to be the reader's remembrancer of that which our Saviour himself immediately after his resurrection said unto two of his disciples which did doubt of the truth of it, albeit they had heard it in a sort testified; the story is Luke xxiv. 22, &c.: *Certain women also of our company* (say those two disciples which went with our

Saviour to Emmaus) *made us astonished, which were early at the sepulchre; and when they found not his body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive. And certain of them which were with us went to the sepulchre, and found it even so as the women had said: but him they saw not. Then he said unto them, O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken: ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?* How far St. Peter and St. John were liable to this censure of the supreme Judge, that I leave for him to determine. St. John from this time did expressly believe Christ's resurrection. So did not St. Peter till afterwards, if we may 1044
believe the collections of cardinal Tollet [b] upon this place.

9. The point which from our Saviour's words unto these disciples, Luke xxiv, and from our evangelist's confession of himself in chap. xx. 9, I would commend unto the reader's consideration, is this, that our Saviour's resurrection from the dead was foresignified, and might have been foreknown, not from one or two places of scripture only, but from many; from the current of that which Moses and the prophets had written. So it follows, Luke xxiv. 27: *Beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself.* And when St. John saith, *that the disciples as yet knew not the scriptures,* this is more than if he had

[b] Introeunte Petro intravit etiam alter discipulus, qui primus venerat: sed ante Petrum ingredi non erat ausus. Hic vidit etiam linteamina et sudarium, sed fecit aliud, quod non fecit Petrus, credidit enim, nempe resurrexisse Dominum. Petrus intravit quidem et vidit. Johannes vero intravit, vidit, et credidit. Si credidisset tunc Petrus, non utique soli sibi Johannes fidem tribuisset, etc. Vide plura in annot. ibid. sc. Joh. xx. 8. pag. 496.

said 'that they knew not the scriptures that he must rise again from the dead.' The phrase imports as much as if the whole drift and scope of scripture was to foreshadow, set forth, or exemplify the power and virtue of Christ's death, and resurrection from the dead.

CHAP. XXX.

That the Death and Resurrection of the Son of God was enigmatically foretold in the first Promise made to our Father Adam and our Mother Eve. That his Resurrection was exquisitely prefigured by Isaac's escape from death; and the Propagation of his Kingdom after his Resurrection, by the strange Increase or Multiplication of Isaac's Seed. A Parallel betwixt our Saviour and Joseph in their Affliction and Exaltation.

THE truth of our Saviour's resurrection is necessarily though but enigmatically included in the first promise made to mankind, Gen. iii. 15: *And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* This sacred oracle, as hath been to divers purposes before observed, includes a literal, and an emblematical or mystical sense. To the present purpose, by the *heel of this woman's seed* κατ' ἐξοχήν, some of the ancients understand the humanity of our Saviour, and not amiss, so it do not point out the similitude too precisely. The warrantable punctual meaning of the place is thus: as a bruise in the heel to an ordinary man is not deadly, so neither was death itself unto our Saviour, because he was God as well as man, and by the virtue of his divine power, could as easily recover life again after he had been put to death, as a strong body, whose vital or internal parts are whole and sound, can recover health after some bruise

in the heel, or other infirmity in his outward or extreme parts; but so could not Satan recover the blow which our Saviour by his sufferings gave him in the 1045
head; he hath been ever since *diminuti capitis*, deprived of his wonted power, and dispossessed of such as were before his captives. So saith our Saviour, John xii. 31, 32: *Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.* And his drawing of men unto him, was a drawing of them out of Satan's bondage and dominion. So that Lucifer, as we may hence gather, had a twofold fall; the one from heaven, or his seat of angelical glory, when he sought to be like God his creator; the other from his power or dominion over this inferior world or mortal men. And this befell him by seeking to make the Son of God more miserable than other men, by attempting to have him lifted up upon the cross, as the brazen serpent was in the wilderness. The same nails that nailed our Saviour's feet to the cross did pierce the old serpent's head. In brief, Christ was to crush the old serpent's head by conquering death, and death could not be fully conquered but by dying. So that when it offered itself unto our Saviour, he was to meet with it, and to fight with it, not afar off, but hand to hand, yea, to close with it, and to receive the utmost force and power of it in every part. Not thus throughly to have tasted it had been to eschew it, or to have fled from it, not to have conquered it; but thus to abide the extremity of it, to receive the full dint of all the blows that death and hell, or all the powers of darkness, could reach mortality, and yet to put all off, or rather to redouble their forces upon themselves, was truly to subdue death, and him that had the power of death. This is

our apostle's inference, Heb. ii. 14: *Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil.*

2. Our Saviour, as some of the ancients have wittily said, did as it were bait his divinity with his humanity, that he might catch Satan in his own net, or with his own hook. Satan being by nature an immortal spirit, did take upon him the bodily shape of a serpent to beguile the first woman; and our Saviour being the eternal Spirit and Son of God, did take our flesh (that is, the woman's seed) upon him, thereby to deceive or intrap the great tempter. For unless the Godhead had been invested with the weakness of mortal flesh, the old serpent would not have so desperately adventured his sting or teeth upon the Godhead as he did. But whilst he sought to swallow the bait of his flesh, he hath lost his sting, he hath broken his teeth, and spoiled his jaws by meddling with the Godhead.

3. But more plainly by much was our Saviour's resurrection and victory over death forepictured by Isaac's narrow escape from death, Gen. xxii. 9. The altar was built on purpose for him, the wood was couched, and Isaac fast bound upon it; the knife was in his father's hand, whose arm was stretched forth to strike him: but God, by his angel and a voice from heaven, delivers him from this imminent danger, as it is, vv. 11, 12. This *only son* of Abraham, this child of promise, the only hope or pledge of that promised seed which was expected from the beginning, was to come thus near unto death, and yet to be delivered from it, that the faith of Abraham concerning the death and resurrection of Christ the promised seed might be tried; or rather that by his trial, our Saviour's

death and resurrection might be truly represented or 1046
forepictured by Isaac's danger and delivery. So saith the apostle, Heb. xi. 17, 18, 19: *By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac: and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten son, of whom it was said, That in Isaac shall thy seed be called: accounting that God was able to raise him up, even from the dead; from whence also he received him in a figure;* to wit, of the resurrection of Christ, or the promised seed.

4. The latter part of this promise belongs merely and properly unto Christ, in whom alone it could be fulfilled. For the more in number Abraham's children according to the flesh were before the promised seed did come, and the greater their temporal prosperity or happiness were, the worse it must needs go with other nations or kindreds of the earth. If the Messias, or promised seed, should have erected such a temporal kingdom here on earth as the Jews expected, the nations of the earth could not have been blessed in him, as God promised by oath to Abraham; for it is no part of happiness, but rather misery, to have the Jews, or seed of Abraham according to the flesh, for their lords and masters.

5. Notwithstanding the former promise was in part fulfilled in the mighty increase of Abraham's posterity by Sarah, this was a pledge of the latter part which was to be fulfilled in Christ. *Through faith* (saith the apostle) *also Sarah herself received strength to conceive seed, and was delivered of a child when she was past age, because she judged him faithful who had promised. Therefore sprang there even of one, and him as good as dead, so many as the stars of the sky in multitude, and as the sand which is by the sea shore innumerable.* Heb. xi. 11, 12.

6. It was one of the great wonders of the world, that from a woman that had been barren till after fourscore years of age, there should proceed above six hundred thousand men within less than four hundred years. The miracle notwithstanding had been less, if her children had been more; but she brought forth no more sons than Isaac: and this mighty nation did spring from Jacob, who was but one branch of Isaac. Sarah was as good as dead when she conceived Isaac, and Isaac himself was at death's door before he gave life to others. So powerful is God to raise strength out of weakness, and to make the barren a fruitful mother of many children. Howbeit this wonderful increase of Sarah's or Isaac's posterity was but a shadow, a draught, or map of that great miracle which was to be exhibited in the promised seed. More admirable it was that the blessed Virgin should bear a son, than that Sarah should conceive. More strange and miraculous that Christ being put to death, should become the Father of more people than Isaac had been. Yet this we see hath God performed: for since his resurrection he hath begotten more sons to God, throughout the nations, than all the children of Abraham or Isaac according to the flesh.

7. This miraculous birth of the church, and this mighty increase of her children, the Lord did, as it were, point out to future ages, in the forementioned increase of Sarah's posterity; that the world might know the body or substance when it should appear, by the picture which he had made of it: and that Abraham's posterity according to the flesh might steadfastly believe the spiritual promise by the temporal pledge; of which pledge every one of them was a part.

1047 8. To this end and purpose saith God himself, by his prophet Isaiah, chap. li. 1, 2: *Hearken to me, ye*

that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the Lord: look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged. Look unto Abraham your father, and unto Sarah that bare you: for I called him alone, and blessed him, and increased him.

9. It was more remarkably true of us Christians (whether the poor remnant of the sons of Abraham, according to the flesh, which were converted, or of us Gentiles the seed of Japhet) than it was of the Israelites which were born in Egypt: We were not the greatest, but the least of all people or nations. It was not our own wit or strength made us so great a nation as we are; but the Lord our God which loved Abraham loved us in Christ, and bestowed the blessing of Isaac in fuller measure upon us. It was his power, his love and wisdom, that did thus multiply and increase us. *The rock whence we were hewn, and the hole of the pit whence we were digged,* was our Saviour's grave. After his death, saith the evangelist St. Luke, chap. xxiii. 52, 53, Joseph of Arimathæa *went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus, and took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a sepulchre that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid.*

10. This rock was the quarry, out of which the whole church of God, which is now spread far and wide over the face of the whole earth, was digged. Our Saviour's resurrection from the dead was the first opening of it: and by virtue of his resurrection, such as were dead in sins and trespasses, such as without it should have consumed to dust in the grave, are become living stones, even pillars in the house of God; Abraham's children according to promise; for *out of stones hath God raised up children unto Abraham.*

11. This application of the type is warranted by the prophet Isaiah, chap. liii. 8: *He was taken from prison and from judgment: and who shall declare his generation?* What *generation* did the prophet mean; the eternal generation of the Son of God? So indeed some of the ancients have interpreted this place, and too many modern interpreters have herein followed them. But this were to run counter upon the text. No print or footstep of the prophet's progress in this chapter, no literal circumstance or meaning doth lead or direct us this way, but the contrary; to wit, to his generation or offspring; to such a generation, but far more ample, as the Israelites were of Abraham: for so it followeth in the prophet: *He was cut off out of the land of the living: for the transgression of my people was he stricken. And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death; because he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth:* and, *When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities.* vv. 10, 11. They whose iniquities he did bear, and whom he justified, are his seed, or that generation whereof the prophet doth speak. Unto this purpose our Saviour himself doth speak, John xii. 23, 24. When Andrew and Philip came unto him (a little before his passion) and told him certain Greeks desired to see him, he answered them, saying, *The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a corn of wheat fall*
1048 *into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.*

12. In respect of this his resurrection out of the grave, he is called *the first begotten from the dead;* for the Father, of whom he was begotten before all worlds, from all eternities, did now beget him as man unto glory and immortality. According to his first birth, as man by the blessed Virgin, he was truly called *the Seed of Abraham, the Son of David:* according to the second birth, or begetting him from the grave, he is called *the Father of the world to come;* and as man, the Father of Abraham, the Father of David, yea, and of Melchisedec himself, who blessed Abraham. For the life of glory and immortality doth descend to all that ever shall be partakers of it from the man Christ Jesus now possessed of glory and immortality, as truly and really as his mortality or life in the flesh did descend from Abraham, from David, or from his mother the blessed Virgin.

13. Isaac (as all have known it) was the true picture and shadow of our Saviour's death and deliverance from it. The mighty increase likewise of Isaac's and Jacob's seed was the emblem or pledge of our Saviour's seed or generation, which cannot be numbered or declared.

14. But the circumstances of our Saviour's selling, of his betraying, of his cruel persecutions by priests and people, the ungracious offspring of Israel or Jacob, the whole legend of his humiliation unto death, and exaltation after his resurrection, are more exactly foreshadowed by the cruel persecutions of Joseph procured by his brethren, by his calamity and advancement in Egypt. Their persecutions by the sons of Jacob do in a manner parallel themselves. Both of them were sold by a Judas, more for hope of gain than desire of blood on their parts that sold them.

15. The pit whereinto Joseph's brethren cast him, as

also the pit or dungeon wherein he lay in fetters after his coming into Egypt, were true pictures of our Saviour's grave, or of the pit whereinto his soul descended: so was Joseph's deliverance out of them a true shadow or resemblance of Christ's resurrection. Joseph's high advancement by Pharaoh, an exquisite type or map of our Saviour's glorious kingdom, after his resurrection or birth from the dead; so Joseph complains unto Pharaoh's butler, Gen. xl. 15: *I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews: and here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon.*

16. The whole story of Joseph's depression and advancement is set down, psalm cv. 17—22: *He sent a man before them, even Joseph, who was sold for a servant: whose feet they hurt with fetters: he was laid in iron: until the time that his word came: the word*[b] *of the Lord tried him. The king sent and loosed him; even the ruler of the people, and let him go free. He made him lord of his house, and ruler of all his substance: to bind his princes at his pleasure; and teach his senators wisdom.*

17. A more express draught or map, as well of our Saviour's humiliation as of his exaltation, is Gen. xxxix. 20, 21, and Gen. xli. 39. Instead of the prison or dungeon wherein Joseph lay, he is raised to the highest place in the kingdom under Pharaoh: *Thou shalt be over my house,* (saith Pharaoh to Joseph,) *and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou. See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt, and without thee*
1049 *shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt.* So was our Saviour, after his resurrection,

[b] This cannot be meant of the written word, but of that ὁ Λόγος, mentioned by St. John, ch. i. 1, and by St. Paul, Heb. i.

made chief ruler over the house of God. *Every house is builded by some man; but he that built all things is God. And Moses verily was faithful in all his house, as a servant, for a testimony of those things which were to be spoken after; but Christ as a Son over his own house, whose house are we.* The amplitude of Christ's kingdom as man, foreshadowed by Joseph's advancement under Pharaoh over all the land of Egypt, is described, psalm ii. 10; specially psalm viii. 5, 6: *Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet.* Yet saith the apostle, 1 Cor. xv. 27, *It is manifest that he is excepted, which put all things under him;* and when it is said, *that he sits at the right hand of God until his enemies be made his footstool,* it is included, that he at whose right hand he sits is in throne or seat of dignity above him. Again, Joseph, instead of the iron wherein he was bound, hath the king's ring put on his hand; instead of his ragged or squalid weeds, he is arrayed in a vesture of fine linen and silk; instead of his fetters and bonds, he hath a golden chain put about his neck. All these ornaments bestowed on Joseph, as the ancient and learned well observe, were but resemblances of those glorious endowments wherewith our Saviour's body or humanity hath since his resurrection been invested.

18. Joseph was placed by Pharaoh in the second chariot, and he made them cry before him *Abrech*, that is as much as to say, *lord* or *king*, to whom bowing of the knee was due. All this, and whatsoever more was done to Joseph, is but a model of that honour which, as our apostle tells us, God hath commanded to be given to Christ. *Wherefore God also hath highly exalted*

him, and given him a name which is above every name: that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father, Philip. ii. 9, 10, 11. *Let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ,* Acts ii. 36.

CHAP. XXXI.

Shewing the Concludency of the Allegations used by the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, to prove the Truth of Christ's Resurrection; and in particular of the Testimony, Psalm ii. Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.

NOT to repeat other types or prophetical testimonies of Christ's entrance into immortal glory by the sufferings of death, of which the reader may find plenty, as well in postillers as commentators; not to dilate upon such general testimonies, whether merely typical or prophetical, or typically prophetical, as have been heretofore handled in the seventh and eighth book of these comments upon the Creed, as that of psalm
1050 lxxxii. &c.; I make no question but those testimonies out of the psalms or prophets which are avouched to this purpose by the apostles themselves, specially by St. Peter and St. Paul, were expounded by our Saviour himself unto the two forementioned disciples which did accompany him unto Emmaus.

2. Now the testimonies most insisted upon by the apostles, as well for convincing the Gentiles as the Jews, are specially three: that of ps. ii, *Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee;* and ps. xvi, *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption;* the third, *The Lord*

hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec; or, which is muchwhat the same, *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.* The extraordinary success of all these allegations abundantly testifies that they were most concludent, for many thousand souls at two several times (besides others) were converted by them. The testimony out of psalm xvi. is pressed home by St. Peter, Acts ii. 6—37, to the Jews specially, and by St. Paul both upon Jews and Gentiles, Acts xiii, though with better success upon the Gentiles. The force and strength of this testimony, and likewise how far it was meant of David, and fulfilled in Christ, hath been at large discussed[c] before. The point at which these present endeavours aim, is to declare how these two testimonies, 1. *Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee;* and, 2. *Thou art a Priest after the order of Melchisedec,* do concludently and irrefragably infer the resurrection of Christ, that Jesus whom the Jews had crucified being both the Son of God and Son of David, and his consecration to his everlasting priesthood; for unto this latter point both testimonies are drawn by our apostle, Heb. v. 5, 6. But how close they reach this point, whether jointly or severally, is not so clearly set forth by most interpreters, as that the reader, unless his understanding far surpass mine, will easily collect. The general meaning of our apostle hath been declared in the first section, and in the close of the fourth of this book: it is punctually thus: Seeing Aaron's calling to the dignity of priesthood was publicly manifested to be from God, no man after might take upon him to erect a new priesthood, no not to the temporal prejudice of Aaron and his successors, much

[c] Seventh book.

less to abolish this priesthood which God had erected, unless he could manifest to man and angels that his commission for thus doing was immediately from God, and authentic, being sealed by oath, and solemnly executed. And seeing no man might, therefore Christ, though God and man, *did not glorify himself* (as the apostle adds) *to be made an High Priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee*, did put this dignity upon him. Many interpreters have stretched their wits to make the literal sense of the psalmist's words reach home to our apostle's purpose; others so slight it as if they would give us to understand or cause to suspect our apostle himself did not much stand upon it, but only pass by it unto the second testimony, *Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.* Albeit in my opinion the latter testimouy proves his fiat or commission, the former his ordination or execution of his commission, I will not wrong the judicious reader's patience with proffering variety of such expositors unto his choice as his wisdom cannot approve. Cajetan hath Ribera's approbation, and of all the expositors which went before him draws the psalmist's oracle, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*, nearest to the point
1051 in question. So far I am from carping at any thing which those two expositors have said to the point now in question, that I will endeavour to explicate and extend their meaning in the best sort I can. The priesthood (saith Cajetan, as Ribera expounds him) before the law given was annexed as a prerogative to the firstborn, and descended from Abraham to Isaac, and by special dispensation to Jacob. Now the whole dignity of the firstborn being lost by Reuben was divided amongst three of his brethren. The sovereignty or principality fell to Judah, the priesthood to Levi,

and the double portion to Ephraim. And in Aaron the son of Levi was the priesthood established long before the kingdom was established in David the son of Judah; and to the priesthood so established David's sons had as little right, as Aaron's sons had to the crown or diadem. God's peremptory decree for thus dividing these two prerogatives Azariah is not afraid to plead unto king Uzziah's face, 2 Chron. xxvi. And his speech did take impression, for he had no sooner made an end of speaking, but the leprosy begun to appear in king Uzziah's face: and for his usurpation of the priest's office, and intrusion into the house of God, he is utterly excluded from his palace, and enforced to resign the government unto his son. But inasmuch as he of whom the psalmist speaks is solemnly registered, and by him declared to be the firstborn and Son of God, it is not lawful only, but expedient, but very necessary, that all the branches of the firstborn's prerogative which Reuben had scattered should be reunited in his person. Again, in that he is the promised seed, he is the complete heir of all the blessings bequeathed to Abraham, and out of whatsoever tribe this promised seed was to spring, the honour of priesthood was as due unto him as the kingdom. Levi and Aaron were but as feoffees in trust for conveying the priesthood, as Judah and David were for making over the kingdom unto him.

3. All those suppositions and others, (perhaps more than Cajetan or Ribera thought of,) being granted, prove only thus much, that the only begotten Son of God, or firstborn to Abraham and to David, had a just title to the eternal priesthood. They do not directly prove that Jesus whom the Jews have crucified to be that Son of God and seed of David meant by the psalmist in the psalm forecited; or, this being granted,

all put together do not manifest his consecration or actual admission to the high priesthood, by whose erection the priesthood of Aaron was changed, which is the conclusion punctually intended by our apostle.

4. For a more satisfactory declaration of the strength of this argument, we are to take the words of the psalmist into a further and more punctual consideration than hitherto we had occasion to take them. As first, of what GENERATION these words, *Ego hodie genui te*, are principally meant, whether meant at all of David, or how of him, and how of Christ the Son of God and Son of David, κατ' ἐξοχήν. Many of the ancients, being seconded by more of the schoolmen and middle aged allegorizing commentators, understand this psalmist's oracle of that GENERATION of the Son of God which is mentioned in the NICENE Creed, or that Creed [d] which is to be publicly read in the second service of our church, "Begotten of his Father before all worlds;" and in these men's construction by the word HODIE is meant HODIE ÆTERNITATIS, "the day of eternity," or eternal day, wherein there is no succession of parts, of hours, or minutes. But this interpretation
1052 is disliked by Calvin, who is always zealous for the literal, though sometimes with prejudice to the mystical or principally intended sense. Yet that sense in this place cannot be expressed by HODIE ÆTERNITATIS, or by the eternal generation of the Son of God. That it cannot be the literal sense of this psalmist is apparent, because neither the resurrection of the Son of God, nor his consecration to the everlasting priesthood, can with any colour of probability be inferred or pretended from it: much less can it be the mystical or true allegorical sense of this oracle; for these always must be grounded upon the literal, and no scripture can be said to be ful-

[d] That is, the Constantinopolitan Creed.

filled according to the mystical or true allegorical sense, until it hath been first verified according to the literal sense. Now the eternal GENERATION of the Son of God cannot follow either his resurrection from the dead, or his consecration to his everlasting priesthood; nor could ever any periphrasis or notation of it be either fulfilled or verified in time, seeing it is before all times.

5. May we say then with good commentators, as with Calvin for one, that these words, *this day have I begotten thee*, have no manner of reference to the Son of God's generation before all worlds? Certain it is that this generation is no part of the object, no part of the immediate subject, (whether according to the literal or mystical sense of the psalmist's words,) whether we consider them written or intended by him, or as avouched by St. Paul and other apostles for the further confirmation of Christ's resurrection from the dead. All that can be said on their parts whom Calvin censures is this, that the eternal GENERATION of the Son of God might be taken as a common notion or presupposed truth, both by the psalmist when he writ, and by the apostle when he avouched these words, *Ego hodie genui te.* That the Word or Son of God was from eternity, this was a common prenotion to all the ancient, learned, or faithful Hebrews. And that he who was the only begotten Son of God before all worlds *should be begotten by him from the dead*, that is proved at large by St. Paul, Acts xiii. And that the raising of that Jesus the Son of David (whom the Jews had crucified) from the dead unto immortal endless life was an authentic declaration that this Son of David was likewise the Son of God, their expected Lord and Messias, is most sweetly deduced by our apostle, Rom. i. 1—4: *Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle,*

separated unto the gospel of God, (which he had promised afore by his prophets in the holy scriptures,) concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh; and declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead. This passage rightly infers that Christ was the Son of God, the uncreated Word, by whom all things were created, before he was made the Son of David; for he was made so only according to the flesh, or human nature: but this eternity of his uncreated person or essence was no part of our apostle's divine discourse or most concludent argument. Acts xiii. 26—34: *Men and brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and whosoever among you feareth God, to you is the word of this salvation sent. For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him. And though they found no cause of death in him, yet desired they Pilate that he should be slain. And when they had fulfilled all that was*
1053 *written of him, they took him down from the tree, and laid him in a sepulchre. But God raised him from the dead: and he was seen many days of them which came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses unto the people. And we declare unto you glad tidings, how that the promise which was made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. And as concerning that he raised him up from the dead, now no more to return to corruption, he said on this wise, I will give you the sure mercies of David.*

For the clearer and fuller explication of this passage, we are to inquire what manner of testimonies or predictions in which the apostle instances, were, as whether prophetical only, or typically prophetical.

6. To begin with the former, *Ego hodie genui te, This day have I begotten thee;* that, with submission of my opinion to better judgments, is a prediction typically prophetical, which kind of prediction, as hath been observed before, is the most concludent; and this one of the highest rank in that kind; that is, an oracle truly meant of David according to the literal sense, and yet fulfilled of Christ the Son of God by his resurrection from the dead, both according to the most exquisite literal, and the mystical or principally intended sense. David without all question was the composer of the second psalm; and the joyful occasions or extraordinary matter of exultation which raised his spirit to that high and majestic strain of divine poesy, whereof this and the eighteenth psalm, with some others, bear lively characters, were partly the triumphant victories which he had already gotten over the enemies of Israel's peace, and the confederators or conspirators against his crown and dignity; partly the glorious promises which through patient expectation of deliverance he had obtained for the further establishment and advancement of his throne, and the enlargement of his hereditary kingdom. Before the composition of the second psalm, he had the glorious and gracious promise of which Ethan the Ezrahite so curiously descants, psalm lxxxix: *I will make him my firstborn, higher than the kings of the earth*, &c. Now it can be no solecism to say, that he who in sacred language is instyled *the firstborn*, should have the title of *the first begotten among the princes of the earth*. Seeing the title of *begetting* is ofttimes in sacred language to be measured, not by

the scale of philosophers' or naturalists' dialect, but of moral or civil language or interpretation. For they that are sons by adoption only, or next heirs in reversion to a crown or dignity, are said to be begotten of those which adopt them, or of whom they be the immediate heirs or successors; and in this sense in the sacred genealogy [e], Jeconiah is said to have begotten Salathiel. So that David upon his own occasions (whether upon his anointing to the crown of Judah in Hebron, or of Israel in Zion) might in the literal sense avouch these words, psalm ii, of himself, *I will preach the law, whereof the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee.*

7. For David to call the day of his coronation, or of his designment unto the crown of Judah, or of all Israel, his *birthday* or *begetting by God*, by whose special power and providence he was crowned, is not so harsh a phrase as some haply would deem it, that either know not or consider not that it was usual in other states or kingdoms beside Judah to celebrate two *natales*
1054 *dies*, two solemn nativities or birthdays in honour of their kings and emperors; the one they called *diem natalem imperatoris*, the other, *diem natalem imperii* [f]; the one the birthday of the emperor, whereon he was born of his natural mother, the other the birthday of him as he was emperor, which we call *the coronation day*. The reason might hold more peculiar in David than in any other princes, because he was the first of all the seed of Abraham that took possession of the hill of Zion, and settled the kingdom of Judah, fore-

[e] Matt. i. 12.

[f] Inter alios scriptores de die natali vidi Martinum de Roa, cap. 16. Suet. in Calig. decretum autem, ut dies quo cœpisset imperium, Palilia vocarentur, velut argumentum rursus conditæ urbis. Spartian. in Hadriano. Cor. Tacit. l. 2. Histor. de Imperio Augusti, &c.

prophesied of by his father Jacob, upon himself and his posterity.

8. But whatsoever may be thought of David, or of his Son, the day of our Saviour's resurrection may be as truly and properly called the day of his nativity, as the day wherein he was born of the blessed Virgin Mary. This was his birthday, or nativity to his mortal life as he was the Son of man; that was the day of his nativity or begetting to immortality, the birthday of his kingdom and royal priesthood. The most concludent testimony, though least observed by most interpreters, is that of the apostle before mentioned[g], Heb. v. 4—6: *No man taketh this honour*, to wit, of priesthood, *unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. So also Christ glorified not himself to be made an high priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee*, (it was he that did glorify him with this title,) *as he saith also in another place, Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.* The apostle's drift and meaning is, that our Saviour did not intrude himself into the priesthood, but had as solemn a calling and consecration to it by God his Father, as Aaron had to the legal priesthood by Moses. And he did deprecate his calling or consecration to this priesthood more earnestly and fervently than any high priest or bishop did their consecration; although they say, *Episcopari nolo*— "They have no desire to be consecrated." But sure our Saviour spake as he meant when he prayed unto his Father; *Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.* Now thus he prayed after God had begun to anoint and bathe him in his own blood unto the priesthood after the order of Melchisedec, as Moses had anointed Aaron with the blood of beasts unto his legal

[g] See the first section of this treatise, chap. 4.

priesthood. And this place of our apostle concludes the point before handled, to wit, that our Saviour did begin his priesthood after the order of Melchisedec from the day of his resurrection; for upon that day was the psalmist's prophecy fulfilled, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.*

9. The fulfilling of this oracle, (meant of David according to the literal,) according to the mystical sense, in Christ Jesu the Son of David, is most divinely expressed by St. Luke, Acts iii. and iv; in which two chapters many passages, above all others in this sacred history, are worthy of serious and frequent meditations, specially in respect of the circumstances of time and some other occurrences. The Holy Ghost, as it is at large related, chapter ii, had been first poured out upon Christ's disciples, a little before the ordinary time of the morning's service or devotions at this solemn feast of pentecost: and upon the same day, as it is very probable from chapter iii. 1, *Peter and John went together unto the temple at the hour of prayers, being the ninth hour,* and bestowed a better alms upon a poor cripple, than after many years' profession of that poor trade he durst presume to beg at their hands, or pray to God for.

1055 10. The ungainsayable truth of the miracle wrought upon this cripple by Peter and John (who, had they been as ambitiously minded as their examiners, might have challenged the glory of it to themselves) did not so much grieve the priests and captains of the temple, with the Sadducees, as that upon this occasion they taught the people, and preached the resurrection of the dead through Jesus Christ, Acts iv. 2, 3. Upon this grief conceived at first by some few there present, the next morning the high priest, with the whole host of his assistants and kindred, did enjoin these two

apostles *not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus;* but upon that magnanimous reply, *Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye,* ver. 19, made jointly by Peter and John to the high priest's and elders' peremptory injunction, being let go, they made report of the whole business, with the success, unto their own company; *who, when they heard it, lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is: who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against his Christ. For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod, and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done.* Acts iv. 23—28. This joyful news thus brought by Peter and John did raise the spirits of the other disciples, if not to prophesy as David had done, yet to make a more lively expression or interpretation of his prophecy, than either he himself or any prophet before our Saviour's resurrection could have composed. As indignation sometimes will hammer out verses or rhymes from wits of duller metal, so extraordinary exultation, or uncouth matter of spiritual joy, will bring forth sacred hymns and poesies, or interpretations of scripture equivalent to the spirit of prophecy.

11. I cannot dismiss this testimony without some short paraphrase upon it, for setting the parallel betwixt the type and the body, according to the rules formerly delivered. *Why do the heathen rage, and*

the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed, psalm ii. 1, 2. All these are truly and literally meant of David's affairs, for he had enemies both against the people of Israel and among neighbour nations of the heathen, which did oppose the flourishing estate or growth of his kingdom, which they feared would bring their posterity unto subjection: hence they said, *Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us,* ver. 3. The same words likewise are literally fulfilled of the Son of God in a more exquisite sense. For as the disciples mentioned, Acts iv, express the fulfilling of this prophecy: *Both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with other Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together against him,* who was not only the anointed of the Lord as David was, but the Christ or Messias κατ' ἐξοχήν. In those words following likewise, ver. 4, *He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision,* David had a peculiar interest, for they literally refer to the defeats of malicious conspirators against David and his kingdom, and the good success which, notwithstanding
1056 those, he ascribes unto the good providence of his God, ver. 6, *Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion.* Now there was no defeat either wrought or hoped for on David's part, or on Solomon's his son, which was not a true shadow and picture (and no more than so) of those strange defeats which *He,* who then sat in the heavens, and now sits there in our nature, did bring upon all those which conspired against the anointed of the Lord, the *Man,* or as the disciples call him, *holy Child Jesus.* Which description, I take it, refers unto him only whilst he was in the *form of a servant.* By defacing this *form* they

made him *Lord.* For albeit the malicious and cruel plots of the high priests to take away his life and fame were so subtlely contrived, and so accurately executed, as if they had continued the Aaronical priesthood and bloody sacrifices to no other end and purpose, save only that they might become more cruel butchers or slaughter-men of the Anointed of the Lord than their predecessors had been of beasts or reasonless sacrifices; yet not he only, but the heavenly powers, saints and angels, had matter enough of joy and gladness, to contemplate how the heathens, and this worse than heathenish seed of Abraham, could do nothing unto him, save that which he that sat in the heavens would have to be done; albeit they did that only which Satan would have them to do. They had consecrated themselves wholly unto his service, and yet he that sits in the heavens made both their master and them to be his instruments for accomplishing the consecration of the Son of David to his everlasting priesthood and kingdom.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Concludency of St. Paul's second Argument, Acts xiii, *drawn from Isaiah* lv.

THE second testimony avouched by St. Paul, Acts xiii. 34, borrowed from Isaiah lv. 3, is, for aught I can observe, merely prophetical, or a vision: for however the prophet might take his rise from former oracles concerning David, yet his prophecy according to the literal sense could not be meant of any person or party, either in the prophet's own time, or in the intermediate space between his time and the exhibition of the seed promised to Abraham and to David in our flesh, in whom alone, specially from the hour of his

resurrection from the dead, it was punctually verified, and once for all fulfilled; that is, as we say, begun to bear date, or be in *esse reali*. The whole chapter contains as clear a prophetical vision of the exercise of Christ's prophetical and sacerdotal function, as any other passage of like quantity in all the writings (now extant) of this evangelical prophet. The readers whom the knowledge of this great mystery most nearly concerns, may find more useful observations in many learned commentators upon that chapter, than I dare either take upon me to repeat or represent unto them, having resolved to insist upon no more than are pertinent to the point now in hand, nor to touch upon any, save only in the passage to the third verse: thus the chapter begins: *Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye,*
1057 *buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.* Unto this sacred fountain of truth our Saviour often directs his auditors, testifying both by words and practices, that all these promises, or rather the blessings here promised, were actually exhibited in him: as first those words of his in the sermon upon the mount, *Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled*, Matt. v. 6, refer as punctually to this place, as to Is. lxv. 13—*Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, my servants shall eat, but ye shall be hungry: behold, my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty*—though punctually to that. But, as the prophet in this place speaks, they were satisfied without any cost or charges, for he taught the people without fee or reward, and declared himself to be not only the inexhaustible well and fountain, but the bread and strength of spiritual life, by his miraculous provision of bodily food for all such as did hunger and

thirst after his heavenly doctrine. It follows in the second verse: *Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness.* Upon these words our Saviour himself doth paraphrase, John vi. 27: *Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you: for him hath God the Father sealed.* And again, vv. 32, 33: *Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not that bread from heaven; but my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world.* And ver. 35: *I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst.* In all these and the like passages, whether avouched by our Saviour himself, or by his apostles after him, we are taught no other doctrine than the prophet in his name and by his Spirit had taught the people, Isaiah lv. 3: *Incline your ear, and come unto me: hear, and your soul shall live; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David.* Was this covenant yet to make, being made before, first with Abraham, then renewed with David? The apostle for conclusion tells us, Heb. xi. 39, neither Abraham nor any other of the patriarchs or holy men, though in their generations renowned for their faith, did receive the promise; and if not the promise, then not the everlasting covenant whereof the prophet here speaks. What was that? The real object of the covenant or blessing promised. But if it be demanded what this blessing promised was? it was Christ Jesus,

not only as he was exhibited in the flesh, but raised from the dead; as is more largely declared in a treatise upon Hebrews xi. 40, to be annexed unto this present treatise.

2. All this hath been implied or intimated before, in that of our apostle, Heb. v. 9: *And being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him;* that is, (to reflect upon the prophet Isaiah's expression of this mystery,) to all that incline their ears unto him, and faithfully hear him [h]. The everlasting covenant taken in this sense, that is, for the everlasting blessedness, or that degree of blessedness expressed in the gospel, is not actually made with any, none are real partakers of it, but such as are true and lively members of Christ's body; such members of it as Abraham and David were not, before the Son of God and the Son of David was consecrated to his everlasting priesthood and kingdom.

1058 3. According to the most strict and genuine sense of the prophet, and our apostle's interpretation of it, Christ Jesus being raised from the dead is the very covenant itself. For so the words of the prophet, and our apostle's interpretation of them, run, *verbatim*, without any interruption or obliquity in construction; *I will make an everlasting covenant, to wit, the sure mercies of David;* or, as the Latin more fully, *misericordias illas stabiles Davidis.* That these words directly signify the person of Christ and his benefits, is most clear from Isaiah lv. 4: *Behold, I have given him for a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people.* So that Christ is called *the sure mercies of David,* because in him and through him all God's promises, or mercies promised to David, are *Yea,* and *Amen;* that is, were actually performed and made

[h] Isaiah lv. 3.

everlasting, not in promise only, but in *esse*. Betwixt the Hebrew text and the seventy interpreters, whose translation St. Paul in the forecited place doth follow, a mere grammarian or curious critic might observe some variation in words, yet no difference or diversity in sense worthy the notice of a true linguist or rational divine. The apostle, when he avoucheth this prophetical oracle, Isaiah lv. 3, as a confirmation of the concludency of the former testimony out of psalm ii, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*, omits the first part of it, *I will make an everlasting covenant with you*, as being fully contained in the latter part, which is indeed an authentic exegetical exposition of the former; to wit, God's promise or oath to give this people and nation in the time appointed τὰ ὅσια Δαβὶδ τὰ πιστὰ, that is, *the holy and faithful things of David*, saith our English. But the full and punctual expression of our apostle's meaning will best appear from the manner how he infers that conclusion which he twice in this place avoucheth from the often mentioned place of the prophet Isaiah: for after that inference, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*[i], he adds for confirmation, *And as concerning that he raised him up from the dead, now no more to return to corruption, he said on this wise, I will give you the sure mercies of David. Wherefore he saith also in another psalm, Thou shalt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption*[k]. The brief or extract of the prophet Isaiah's meaning in St. Paul's construction is this; That God by raising up Christ Jesus from the dead, never to die again, did really exhibit or actually perform that covenant made by oath to David, psalm lxxxix. 28: *My mercy will I keep for him for evermore, and my covenant shall*

[i] Acts xiii. 33. [k] Ibid. 34, 35. Psalm. xvi. 10.

stand fast with him, &c.; and vv. 35, 36: *Once have I sworn by my holiness, that I will not fail David. His seed shall endure for ever, and his throne* (that is, not the successive throne of David, but the throne of David's SEED) *as the sun before me.*

4. David in the days of his flesh did receive the promise or covenant, if you take it in the active or formal signification, as for *promissio qua Deus promittit*, or *pactum quo Deus paciscitur;* but if we take this promise or covenant in the passive sense, *id est*, for the blessing promised or covenanted, that was not performed till Christ was raised from the dead and glorified, as it follows, Isaiah lv. 5. In this sense Zacharias calls the exhibition of the promised seed, though yet in the womb, *the performance of the oath which God had sworn to give unto Abraham and his offspring*[1]. So that the word πιστὰ, *the faithful things of David*, is contradistinct not to dissimulation, or any suspicion of feigning in the promiser, but to the reversible or mutable state of the blessing promised.
1059 It implies the immortality of the Son of David according to the flesh, or the immutability of his holy priesthood and kingdom: briefly, the word πιστὰ is equivalent, and somewhat more than so, unto the word βεβαῖον, as it is used by St. Peter, second Epistle, chap. i. 10: *Give all diligence to make your calling and election sure*, or rather *firm and strong;* in which place the word *election* must of necessity be taken not in the formal or active sense, but in the passive, material, or real sense; not for *electio qua Deus nos eligit*, but for the irreversible state in grace, which is the effect of God's election; which estate is possible to be obtained in this life if we seek it as we ought, and as the apostle in that place doth enjoin us.

[1] Luke i. 72, 73.

This distinction betwixt the active and passive signification of the same words, since my first entrance into the ministry, I ever wished heartily might have been, or yet be, taken into consideration by many in our days; by many who have skill abundant, as well in logic as in the learned tongues, &c. to deceive themselves, and such as take their resolutions upon trust; but little skill to allay the bitterness of contention, or compromise many verbal differences very compromisible in themselves; and less will to exhort, instruct, reprove their auditors in the spirit of meekness, in points of necessary and useful doctrines, to set any copy, or give any character of Christian charity, either by their doctrine or practice.

5. And here I had set a period to this chapter, had not the discussion of the former questions, Acts xiii, called to my remembrance the saying of the same apostle: *He that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles.* Gal. ii. 8. Of which observation we have a lively document or experiment in the admirable success of St. Peter's sermon, Acts ii, grounded for the most part upon the same text and arguments which St. Paul useth, Acts xiii. Three thousand souls were converted by St. Peter, but all or most of them of the circumcision or seed of Abraham, his brethren according to the flesh; for unto them he directs his speech, ver. 26: *Men and brethren,* &c. But with St. Paul's persuasions, though most powerfully pressed upon them, few of the Jews or men of Israel (unto whom in the first place he tenders the fruits of his ministry, Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ, υἱοὶ γένους Ἀβραὰμ, *Men and brethren, children of the stock of Abraham*) were much taken; but of the proselytes of the Gentiles, to whom specially in the second place was directed, καὶ

οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεὸν, that is, *and all such as are not the stock of Abraham, yet living amongst you, fear the God of Abraham,* scarce one that heard him but was overjoyed with his discourse. Hence saith St. Luke, Acts xiii. 42: *And when the Jews were gone out of the synagogue, the Gentiles besought that these words might be preached to them the next sabbath.* So many there were which were thus taken, that *when the Jews saw the multitudes, they were filled with envy, and spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming. Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said, It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles. For so hath the Lord commanded us.* Acts xiii. 45—47. It were a point worthy the discussion, were it not extravagant from my present argument, how Paul and Barnabas did deduce a necessity of command of preaching to the Gentiles upon themselves, from the words of the prophet Isaiah, xlix. 6: *I have set thee to be a light to the*
1060 *Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth.* The same command they might and no doubt did deduce from Isaiah lv. 4, 5: *Behold, I have given him for a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people. Behold, thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not, and nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee because of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee.* By the manner of the apostle's inference or deduction of command upon himself and Barnabas, the reader may easily inform himself, that many things are undispensably enjoined the ministers of the gospel by force and virtue of the Old Testament, which

are neither expressed nor repeated in legal form throughout the New Testament. Though not so repeated or expressed, they may be concludently inferred by more than analogy, by full equivalency to express legal commands. But this point I shall commend to the serious consideration of some learned divines, who in the just defence of orthodoxal doctrines, which they are well able to maintain, have engaged themselves to dispute in such matters as come in only upon the by. Thus much we know in general, that we are enjoined to preach Christ crucified and raised from the dead, as Paul and Barnabas did, submitting the success of our labours unto him who hath reserved the appointment of times and seasons, or fitting opportunities to all occurrences, unto himself; that Paul himself was not taken at all with that most heavenly sermon of St. Stephen, with part of which, or with some special arguments used by that blessed martyr, he at the time appointed won many thousand souls unto God.

CHAP. XXXIII.

That our Saviour's Departure, and passing out of this World to his Father, or his entering into his Glory through Afflictions, was exquisitely foreshadowed by divers Solemnities in the legal Passover, and by the Israelites' passing through the Red Sea.

THOUGH such testimonies of the Old Testament as are typically prophetical be (as hath been intimated in divers treatises before) most pregnant proofs for points of faith delivered in the gospel, yet this rule requires some limitation, or some allowances to make it full current: the comparison betwixt this and other sorts of testimonies must be *secundum simpliciter ad simpliciter;* that is, the most clear and pregnant testimonies

of this kind are more exquisite than the most clear and pregnant of any other rank. But every testimony of this sort is not more concludent and admirable than any testimony of another rank; not more pregnant than some foresignifications of mysteries to come, which are merely typical, or speak to us only in the Old Testament by matter of fact. Of this rank was the type or sign of the prophet Jonah, than which there can be none more pregnant, in respect of the article of Christ's resurrection; the force or concludency of it is warranted by our Saviour's own authority, and for this reason, haply, not insisted upon since by the apostles and evangelists after his death, to whom it was all-suf-
1061 ficient that he himself had avouched it. But seeing this type or sign implies divers circumstances or references, as well to our Saviour's ascension as to his resurrection, the discussion of it shall be deferred, as the binding or coupling of this present edifice. For finishing that part of it which concerns the article of the resurrection only, the next inquisition must be, how our Saviour's passage to immortal endless life through death was prefigured or foretypified by the legal rites or solemnities of the passover, or feast of unleavened bread.

2. The occasion and first institution of the passover, I doubt not every ordinary reader either knows, or will easily call to mind. It is set down Exod. xii, which is the first lesson appointed by the church for the feast of the resurrection. The institution or occasion of it you have set down from ver. 2. unto ver. 12. The meaning of the word, or *quid nominis*, we have in vv. 12, 13: *It is the Lord's passover. For I will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and will smite all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both man and beast; and against all the gods of Egypt I will*

execute judgment: I am the Lord. And the blood (to wit, of the paschal lamb) *shall be to you for a token upon the houses where ye are: and when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and the plague shall not be upon you to destroy you, when I smite the land of Egypt.* So then it is called the *passover*, because the Lord when he passed through Egypt, and visited every house with a fearful visitation, he passed over all the houses of the Israelites which lived amongst them, upon whose door-post the blood of the paschal lamb was shed. Whether this visitation of the Egyptians were held by some good angel, or by that spirit or angel whom St. John calls Ἀπολλύων, that is, as Moses, Exod. xii. 23, entitles this visitor, *the Destroyer*, I will not dispute, seeing it is certain the visitation or judgment itself was the Lord's. And by his appointment the visitor or executioner, whosoever he were, good angel or bad, one or more, was to pass over the houses of the Israelites, as being exempted from his commission, whilst he smote the firstborn of man and beast that pertained to any house of the Egyptians. But at this present passover, wherein the Saviour of the world became a sacrifice, hell, as we say, was broken up and let loose; the powers of darkness were become as a raging sea, or swelling tide overflowing her banks, and had wrought a more rueful desolation upon all mankind upon the face of the whole earth, than the flood of Noah had done, unless by God's providence they had been restrained. The flood in the time of Noah was a flood of waters only; this was a stream of fire and brimstone, which the breath of the Lord had kindled, unless his wrath had been appeased, and the flame quenched by the blood of the paschal Lamb. The commission of the destroying angel throughout Egypt, did extend no further than to the

firstborn of man and beast, and was to endure but for one night; the powers of darkness did aim at all, and lie in wait till the world's end to devour all, whose hearts are not sprinkled with the blood of this paschal Lamb, which was shed not for a few houses, but for all. Every house in Israel was to have their several lamb, or two houses at the most could be privileged by the blood of one lamb; but our paschal Lamb, as he was slain by the whole congregation of Israel, cried down to death by the priests, the scribes and Pharisees, and the whole multitude; so his blood was sufficient to redeem all the Israel of God from the destroyer, even
1062 as many throughout all ages and kingdoms as will submit themselves unto his laws, and acknowledge him for their Redeemer. And for this reason he was slain without the city, as a public sacrifice in the open air. The cross whereto he was nailed, was as the door-posts of that house of which he is the Builder and Maker, that is, of the whole world itself. Now it is to be presumed that the blood of that sacrifice which was to redeem and sanctify all unto the world's end which seek redemption and sanctification by him, should not be as blood spilt upon the earth which cannot be gathered up. As he was to give life to others by his blood, so he was to give life to himself again.

3. But is it imported in the institution of the passover, or in any solemnity belonging unto it, that the Lamb of God, which was to take away the sins of the world by his death, should himself be restored unto life again? Yes. This word *passover*, besides the former signification of passing over the houses of the Israelites, hath another signification or importance, to wit, that all those families which were privileged from the power of the destroying angel which smote the Egyptians should pass out of the land of Egypt, or house

of bondage, through the Red sea, into the land of their rest and liberty, under the conduct of Moses, who had the great Angel of the covenant for his guide in this passage. For the reader's better apprehension how the mysteries of the gospel concerning our Saviour's passion and resurrection were foreshadowed in the solemnity of the passover, we are to consider that there is a twofold sense of scripture, the one literal, the other mystical: the literal sense consists in the immediate or grammatical sense or signification of the words; the mystical sense is that which the facts or persons immediately signified by the literal or grammatical sense of the words do foreshadow. Thus by *Israel*, in the sacred story, sometimes Jacob the father of the twelve tribes, sometimes the twelve tribes themselves are literally meant. And *Israel* taken in this sense is literally called *the son of God*, but by this name *Israel* Christ Jesus is mystically meant: he it is alone, *qui tanti mensuram nominis implet.* He it is which prevailed with God, and is more properly called *the Son of God*, than either Jacob or his posterity were. And that which according to the literal sense was meant of Jacob's posterity, *When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt*, Hos. xi. 1, was literally fulfilled of Christ in a more full and exquisite sense, as the evangelist instructs us, Matt. ii. 15. For God called this his only Son out of Egypt, literally taken; that is, out of the same land or kingdom wherein Jacob's seed had been sojourners, into the selfsame land of Canaan into which he had brought them: so that every word in this prophecy, is in the literal sense truly verified as well of Christ, as of Jacob's seed. But Egypt and Canaan, besides this literal sense and signification, have a further mystical sense or importance. The state of Israel, or the sons

of Jacob, in Egypt, was a map or shadow of our slavery and bondage unto the powers of darkness: their passage out of Egypt into the land of Canaan through the Red sea, was a type of our passage from the bondage of sin into the kingdom of light, through the region of death itself. Thus the paschal lamb, literally taken, was a picture of Christ's sacrifice upon the cross; and so was Moses, which instituted the sacrifice, and conducted God's people out of Egypt, but a shadow of Christ: Joshua, or Jesus the son of Nun, which brought them into the land of Canaan, was no more. The great Angel of the covenant, which was with
1063 Moses and with Joshua as their guide and protector in this business, was with the man Christ Jesus in unity of person; and Christ Jesus is with us unto the world's end, as the ark of the covenant was with Moses and Joshua, or with the host of Israel, to direct and support us in all our ways.

4. But is this passage from this vale of misery to a better life, any where in scripture called a *passover?* or is it any part of the true meaning or importance of this solemn feast? This mystery is unfolded by St. John xiii. 1: *Now before the feast of the passover,* (and it was but a day before,) *when Jesus knew that his hour was come,* ἵνα μεταβῇ, *that he should depart,* (as our English renders it,) or rather *that he should pass out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end.* Some good interpreters note an elegancy of speech in the original, or an allusion unto the etymology of the passover in Hebrew, as if in Latin he had said, *Ante diem festum transitus sciens Jesus quia veniet hora ejus ut transeat:* but to my observation, wheresoever there is the like elegancy of speech or allusion in the original, the elegancy is not

affected for itself, as it usually is by secular artists, but always denotes some mystery, or somewhat in the matter itself, more useful to sober minds than any artificial elegancy of speech can be to curious artists. Now the mystery charactered unto us in that speech of St. John, of *Christ's passing out of this world unto his Father*, is this, to wit, that the legal passover, which was instituted in memory of the Lord's passing over the houses of the Israelites, and their passage out of Egypt through the Red sea, did foreshadow the passage of the Son of God out of this world, wherein he had lived in the state and condition of a servant, unto the land of his rest and liberty; he therefore passed out of this world unto his Father, that in his sight and presence he might obtain the liberty and prerogatives of "the only Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds;" but he therefore came into this world, that by his death and manner of departing out of it he might open and prepare a passage for us out of this vale of misery. The land or inheritance into which he passed is the inheritance of everlasting pleasure, but the passage was on his part bitter and full of sorrow; yet this notwithstanding he willingly endured for the love of his people: *having loved his own which were in the world*, saith the apostle, *he loved them to the end;* that is, he perfectly loved them, which would not suffer him to forget them when the hour of his bitter passion approached, willing to suffer whatsoever was laid upon him for their sake. And as Moses the night before the Israelites' passage out of Egypt did institute the passover, so our Saviour before his passage out of this world did institute this sacrament or supper, not only as a memorial of his passage, but as a perpetual pledge of his peculiar presence, for conducting all such as believe on him, and to be a

viand or viaticum to strengthen and comfort all such as resolved to follow him as the Israelites did Moses. Again, as Moses instructed the Israelites in the laws and rites of the passover before they eat it, so our Saviour gave instructions by precept and example for our due preparation unto this service. The precepts are generally two; *humility*, which he taught by his example in washing his apostles' feet, John xiii. 13—17; the second, *love*, vv. 34, 35: *A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.*

1064 CHAP. XXXIV.

The Resurrection of the Son of God, and the Effects or Issues of his Birth from the Grave, were concludently forepictured by the Redemption of the Firstlings of the Flocks, and of the firstborn Males, and by the Offerings of the First-fruits of their Corn.

BUT was the legal sacrifice of the paschal lamb the only solemn memorial either of the Lord's passage over the houses of the Israelites in Egypt, or of the Israelites' passage out of Egypt through the Red sea? Are all the mysteries of the gospel, which immediately concern our Saviour's resurrection and passage out of this mortal life to an immortal, to be referred unto this one legal type or model? Is this the only scale by which we are to measure it? No: the feast of the passover was an anniversary, kept but once a year; whereas the Lord would have as well the deliverance from the destroying angel in Egypt, as their deliverance from the host of Pharaoh, to be often imprinted in their memories, and their impressions to be renewed upon several and frequent occasions. To this purpose

was that precept concerning the firstborn, directed to Moses before their passage out of Egypt, Exodus xiii. 1, 2: *The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Sanctify unto me all the firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, both of man and of beast: it is mine.* And again, vv. 11—13 of the same chapter, every firstling of their herds or flocks is expressly marked out for the Lord, with the stamp or character of the passover: *And it shall be when the Lord shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, that thou shalt cause to pass over unto the Lord all that openeth the matrix, and every firstling that cometh of a beast which thou hast; the males shall be the Lord's. And every firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb; and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break his neck: and all the firstborn of man among thy children shalt thou redeem.* The reason of this law is given, vv. 14, 15, to wit, because the Lord by strength of hand had brought them out of Egypt, after he had slain the firstborn of Egypt both of man and beast; therefore they were to sacrifice unto the Lord all that opened the matrix being males; but the firstborn of their children they were to redeem; yet these, as all other legal rites and sacrifices, had a double aspect or reference: the one, to the first occasion of their institution, which is here literally expressed; the other, to foreshadow somewhat to come by the legal service or institution. The mystery foreshadowed by the legal sanctifying or sacrificing the firstborn males unto the Lord, was the expectation of a firstborn male, by whose consecration or *passing over* unto the Lord, all these and the like legal ceremonies should once for all be accomplished, and their children fully sanctified and redeemed. That these legal services, taken at the best, could be no more

than shadows of good things to come, common reason might have taught this people: for seeing the firstlings of the herds, though offered in sacrifice unto the Lord, could not sanctify the use of their flocks unto them, but the use of every dumb creature was to be sanctified unto them, by a sacrifice of one and the same kind; (as the use of their lambs and sheep was to be
1065 hallowed by the sacrifice of a firstling male lamb, and so the goats by the firstling male kid, and their oxen and cattle by the sacrifice of the firstling calves or bullocks;) who could in reason expect that the sacrifice of a lamb, of a kid, of a bullock, or any other dumb creature, should be a sufficient price for the redemption of their firstborn males, or able to sanctify or consecrate both male and female in their several families unto the Lord? *He that sanctifies and they that are sanctified are all of one*, saith the apostle[m]. Men were to be redeemed and sanctified by man; and if the firstborn male in every family had been sacrificed for the rest, this would have made no satisfaction, no sanctification, seeing the firstborn was by nature as unclean as the rest; and every dumb creature, which was by law unclean, and could not be sacrificed, was to be redeemed by the sacrifice of a firstling male, which was by its kind clean; as the ass, because it was by its kind unclean, was to be redeemed; that is, the use of it was to be sanctified or made lawful unto its owner by the sacrifice of a firstling lamb.

2. But who amongst all the firstborn of women was in his kind or by nature clean? Not one besides the Son of the blessed Virgin, who was likewise the only Son of God. It is he alone that was to redeem and sanctify the rest of mankind, which were all by nature unclean: and with reference to the former law, our

[m] Heb. ii. 11.

apostle instyles him *primogenitus omnis creaturæ—the firstborn of every creature*, Coloss. i. 15. Now though it be most true that Christ was before all things—that all things were created by him, whether visible or invisible—that all things consist by him as he is the only Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds; yet this is not the true and full meaning of that most sacred maxim, *Est primogenitus omnis creaturæ—He is the firstborn of every creature.* One part of the apostle's meaning in that admirable passage, Coloss. i. 13—20, is, that unless Christ had been the Son of God from eternity, all fulness could not have dwelled in him; nor could he have had preeminence in all things, which the apostle there mentions. Another part of the apostle's meaning there, is, that in the same Christ as man, it pleased God that all fulness should dwell, and that as man he should in all things have the preeminence; and inasmuch as all fulness dwelleth in him as man, and that in all respects he hath preeminence, he is likewise as man the firstborn of every creature; that is, all the prerogatives which the firstborn males had before the afterborn or females, are contained in his prerogative and fulness as man. Now as the firstborn males amongst the offsprings of dumb creatures did sanctify all the rest of the same kind, so Christ as man doth sanctify all things, make all things acceptable unto God which are capable of sanctification or acceptance: as man likewise he had all the prerogatives of the firstborn in the families of the patriarchs, which were especially two; the priesthood, and the principality or civil dominion over their brethren and posterity. For Christ as man is made both King and Priest; and albeit Abraham, Isaac, and the patriarchs, and Melchisedec, who blessed Abraham, were both kings and priests over their

families and children, yet these prerogatives they had by a solemn right derived from him which was to come, who was to be a priest after the order of Melchisedec. Again, in respect of the character of the firstborn male, or of that which gave it the prerogative of the afterborn, he hath the preeminence; for he opened
1066 the womb or matrix in such a manner as no creature had done or shall do after him; for he was made true man, and truly born of a woman, yet not begotten by any man. And albeit Melchisedec, Abraham, and David were dead long before he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, long before he was born or made man of a woman—though he be truly enstyled *the Seed of Abraham,* and *the Son of David,* which for this reason were of necessity to be before him—yet this precedency was a precedency only of time, a precedency in respect of this mortal and miserable life. In respect of that better life, he hath the precedency even of time; for he is the Father of the world to come, and as our apostle hath it, Coloss. i. 18, *he is the firstborn,* or *firstbegotten from the dead; that in all things he might have the preeminence.*

3. Christ by his divine power had raised the widow's son of Naim and his friend Lazarus—the one some two years, the other but a few days before—from death to life: but neither of them, nor any before them which had been so raised, could be truly said to be begotten from the dead, but rather begotten to die again; for to be born and begotten from the dead includes an everlasting freedom from the power or approach of death, as it is in the hymn for the morning prayer upon Easter-day: "Christ rising again from the dead now dieth not, death from henceforth hath no power upon him." According to this notion or importance of *primogenitus ex mortuis,* of being *the*

firstborn or *firstbegotten from the dead,* Christ hath the preeminence every way, he was the first in order of time, and was raised from death to an endless life. He was the only *prime* in respect of power or causality; whosoever thus hath been or shall be raised or begotten from death to an immortal life, is thus raised and begotten by virtue of Christ's resurrection. Albeit the souls of Abraham, of Moses, and David, &c., were before this time seated in bliss, yet were not their bodies so much as capable of dowry or jointure with them in the state of bliss, before such time as the Son of God was thus begotten from the dead; yea, might the souls of those and other righteous men have looked upon their bodies or relics in the dust, they would have loathed their company, and abhorred cohabitation with them, as being things polluted and unclean.

4. How clean or well winnowed soever the corn were before it was sown, yet the offspring of it after it died in the ground was unclean. The use of green ears was not lawful unto this people, until the firstfruits were offered up unto the Lord. In like manner, albeit Abraham, Moses, and David were justified whilst they lived in the flesh, even sanctified persons through belief in Christ which was to come, yet their bodies were to inherit their father Adam's curse: *Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.* Subject they were to corruption, altogether incapable of incorruption or immortality, until their expected Messias became their firstfruits for them. *Christ,* saith our apostle, 1 Cor. xv. 20, *is risen from the dead, and become the firstfruits of them that slept. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.* So generally true is that of the apostle, Heb. ii. 11: *That which sanctifieth and that which is sanctified are both of one;* that is, both of one kind. And in this

sense that saying of St. Ambrose, which some in latter ages have much quarrelled, is most true: "When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers." The body of
1067 no saint was capable of entrance into the kingdom of heaven before this time. None could be consecrated unto this service before the consecration of the High Priest himself, which was not accomplished till he was begotten from the dead, and made the firstfruits of them that sleep.

5. Briefly to mould up the scattered or dispersed notions in this and some other former treatises, how the fulness of all things which were foreshadowed in the feast of the passover, with its rites, did, as our apostle saith, dwell in Christ, or how in all things he had the preeminence; first, he is in the literal and most exquisite sense the Israel of God, the Son of God which was to pass out of this world unto his Father; secondly, he was the true paschal Lamb, which was slain for our deliverance from the destroyer, and for our safety in this our passage from this world into a better; thirdly, he is the real Moses that must conduct us, for he was conductor unto Moses; fourthly, he is the firstborn of every creature, which by his sacrifice did sanctify all the rest, and make them acceptable unto God; fifthly, he is the firstborn or firstbegotten from the dead, the firstfruits of them that sleep; that is, he by whom such as sleep in death and inhabit darkness shall be made meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light, as well in their bodies as in their souls.

SECTION VI. 1068

He ascended into Heaven.

CHAP. XXXV.

How the Ascension of the Son of God was prefigured by the Translation of Enoch, and by the taking up of Elias; and foretold by the Psalmist, psalm xv. *and psalm* xxiv.

THE Son of God in the day of his sufferings, as he was man, did ascend in soul into that paradise into which the souls of patriarchs, of prophets, with the souls of holy and just men that died immediately after him, or at the same time with him, were admitted. And on that day, at least before the dawning of the next, which was the sabbath, he consecrated the celestial sanctuary or paradise with his own blood. But his ascension into paradise, what part soever of heaven that were, on that day, is not the ascension mentioned in our Creed: for when it is said, "He ascended into heaven," this must be understood of his ascension thither in body, which was forty days after his resurrection from the dead. And into heaven, or that part of heaven mentioned in our Creed, he did not then ascend only as an High Priest, but also as King of heaven and earth. The day of his ascension, as was mentioned before [a], was the day of his solemn enthronization.

2. The manner of his ascension is punctually related, specially by the evangelist St. Luke in the last chapter of his Gospel, and in the first of the sacred history of

[a] See p. 383 of this volume.

the Acts of the Apostles. The special queries concerning his or other evangelical or apostolical avouchments of his ascension are but two: the first, how that which they historically relate or avouch was forepictured; the second, how or by what prophets foretold in the sacred writings of the Old Testament. And these two queries must be discussed, not by dichotomy, or by way of opposition, but either severally or promiscuously, as the texts of the Old Testament shall minister occasion.

3. The ascension of this just and holy One, of the great prophet promised by Moses, was first prefigured by the translation of Enoch, which was long before the law was given, long before Moses was born. But of Enoch's translation little can be said upon sure grounds, or by just warrant of scripture: only this we know from authentic testimonies, that *he was an holy man, and one that pleased God;* a man, both in life and in his translation from this life unto a better, who did truly foreshadow Him in whom alone God was, and is, and ever will be best pleased.

1069 4. The manner of Elijah's ascension, or rather of his being taken up from earth into heaven, or to a far better place than earth, was more visible and more conspicuous, and the time of his taking up more publicly known, than the time or manner of Enoch's translation was: he was taken or carried up out of Elisha's sight, who with many others did expect the time and day of his translation, in a fiery chariot, a fit emblem of Elijah's prophetical spirit, always burning with zeal towards the service of God, even to the destruction of the enemies of it, or disturbers of the peace of Israel. Our Saviour did rather ascend in a cloud than was taken up by it, albeit taken by it out of their sight which saw him ascend from earth to

heaven: the cloud itself, in which he did ascend, being an emblem of his sweet and mild spirit, of those gracious lips which did always distil words of mercy and love, allaying the terrible heat and fervency of Elijah's and other prophets' spirits which had foretold his first coming into, and his going out of this world, and his second coming to judge it.

5. Two illustrious predictions of his ascension we have, psalms xv. and xxiv; but whether the one or both of these psalms, which illustrate or confirm the truth of the evangelical story, be merely prophetical, or typically prophetical, or mixed, *id est*, thus literally verified in the psalmists themselves, or penmen of these hymns, and afterward mystically fulfilled in Christ, is more than I dare peremptorily either affirm or deny. Most probable it is, that the author of psalm xv, which doubtless was David himself, did pen his own part, and exercise his hopes and interest in the future ascension of his Son and Lord, of which he had a present pledge or token, by his late restitution into the tabernacle of the Lord from which he had sometimes been excluded, not for any crime or demerit, nor by any ecclesiastical censure of excommunication or suspension, but by secular violence of hostile persecution. During the time of his exile from the tabernacle, he, or the sons of Korah for him, uttered those pathetical complaints: *How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of the Lord: my heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God. Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King, and my God. Blessed are they that dwell in thy house: they will be still praising thee.* Ps. lxxxiv. 1, 2, &c.; and again, v. 9: *Behold, O God our shield,*

and look upon the face of thine anointed. After his restitution to his former freedom, the kingly prophet out of his consciousness of his own integrity and righteousness of the cause for which he was persecuted by Saul and by others, frames these divine characters of such as have interest in the blessings prefigured by free resort unto the service of the tabernacle, or of the temple (whose erection perhaps was in his project), when he composed psalm xv: *Who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill?* This question he proposeth to Jehovah, the Lord himself, desirous to be instructed by him in this great mystery before he took upon him to instruct others in it. And he receives this answer—*He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart,* ver. 2; and thus concludes—*He that doeth these things shall never be moved.* Which last words could not be exactly fulfilled of the tabernacle, which itself was movable. None but men so qualified as the character of the psalm imports had any just title or
1070 sure hope to be perpetual partakers or inheritors of the blessings or comforts of this life, which did attend the true service of the tabernacle, much less of the eternal blessings of the heavenly sanctuary. The ungodly and profane persons of those times, or men tainted with the contrary vices unto those good qualifications which he there requires, however they might by extraordinary mercies fare *de facto,* did always *de jure,* or by the ordinary course of God's justice, forfeit their interest in the blessings promised to sincere observants of the laws of the tabernacle.

6. So that this psalm xv. for its literal sense is a fuller expression of the matter contained in the first psalm, or a more lively character of the blessings there promised. Now, inasmuch as the tabernacle whilst it

was movable in the wilderness, whilst it was pitched in Shiloh, or in the temple itself erected by Solomon on mount Zion, was but a type or figure of that heavenly sanctuary which God by his own immediate hand hath pitched; whatsoever was literally meant or verified of the first tabernacle or temple, and of the visible founders of them or sincere resorters to them, was in the mystical sense verified of the heavenly sanctuary, and of the invisible Founder of it, Christ Jesus the Son of God, who did consecrate it with his own blood: *into this holy temple* he alone could enter by the sacrifice of himself, he alone had right to dwell in it; but through his mediation and intercession all such as follow the psalmist's directions in that psalm—which are indeed the immediate precepts of God himself—are admitted to be partakers of those joys which by right, as we said, belong to the Holy One of God alone, as all the faithful people during the law were partakers of the sacrifices and services of the temple, though these were to be performed by the high priest alone. Further, inasmuch as none besides the promised Seed of David, or David's Lord, could exactly perform or solidly express the qualifications in that psalm required; none but he could have just right or title to enter into that most holy sanctuary whereof the *sanctum sanctorum*, or holy of holies, was but the model, nor ascend into that holy mount whereof the hill of Zion was at the best but the footstool or lowest step to it. Into this sanctuary the Son of God our High Priest had better right to enter, more absolute authority to ascend the royal throne in what part soever of heaven seated, than the high priest of the law had to enter into the *sanctum sanctorum*, or sanctuary within the veil, into which he was to enter but once a year, nor might he then admit any associates or attendants to go in with him. But

into this heavenly sanctuary, into which our hopes (even in this life) do enter, *Christ Jesus* (as saith the apostle) *is gone before us, being made a High Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec,* and by virtue of this priesthood he hath full power and authority to consecrate us to be kings and priests unto God, even all us that seek to express the characters of the psalmist's blessed man by sanctity of life towards God, and sincerity of conversation amongst men.

6. That by *the tabernacle* or *holy hill* mentioned psalm xv, the heavenly sanctuary whereinto our High Priest is entered, is principally intended according to the mystical sense, besides the conclusion of that psalm, the close of psalm xxiv. makes it more clear. The question and answer proposed and made by this psalmist is the same (but more distinct) with that mentioned in psalm xv: *Who shall ascend into the hill of the*
1071 *Lord? or who shall stand in his holy place? He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully. He shall receive the blessing from the Lord, and righteousness from the God of his salvation,* psalm xxiv. 3—5. But there follows another remarkable question twice proposed in words altogether the same; and twice answered in the same words for equivalency of sense, with a preface most majestic: *Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in,* ver. 7. The question follows, ver. 8, *Who is this King of glory?* Sure neither David, who composed this psalm, nor Solomon his son, but Jehovah *potens in bello—Jehovah, the strong and mighty Lord, puissant in battle,* ver. 8. But lest his posterity should not be so observant of these mysteries as was befitting, immediately after the reiteration of the former preface,

Lift up your heads, O ye gates, &c., and of the same question, *Who is this King of glory?* he resolves us somewhat more fully than before, ver. 10: *Jehovah exercituum ipse est Rex gloriæ—The Lord of hosts, he is the King of glory*, and concludes the whole psalm with *Selah*, which, as to my remembrance hath been observed before, is not only a musical note, or modulation of the tone in singing, but a character of some peculiar matter or mystery in the ditty, deserving attentive meditation.

7. Upon the matter then, or reckoning, *recta ratio* being admitted judge, this psalmist by *King of glory* and *Lord of hosts* means the same Lord, and no other than whom in the beginning of this divine hymn he had acknowledged supreme Lord and Creator both of sea and land: *The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein. For he hath founded it upon the seas*, (that is, in such a sense as we say towns and cities are situated upon the rivers on whose banks they stand,) *and established it upon the floods.* vv. 1, 2. Yet may we not deny that this psalm may literally refer to the bringing in of the ark into the hill of Zion, and to the exhortation of the psalmist to admit and entertain it as the seat of the King of glory, God blessed for ever. But this literal sense doth no way prejudice, but rather strengthen the force of their argument who hence conclude the deity of the Son of God then admitted in triumph into the hill of Zion (or the tabernacle pitched in it) according to his divine nature only; this triumphant admission being a sure pledge or earnest of his future admission into his heavenly sanctuary, the place of his everlasting residency as Lord and Christ in our nature. No man who acknowledgeth or rightly esteemeth the authority of the psalmist, unless abundance of wit hath besplitted his

understanding, can imagine that the King of glory whom the psalmist here mentioneth should be any other party or person besides the Son of God, Christ Jesus, whom the Jews (when he came to the material temple or tabernacle wherein his divine nature did in peculiar manner reside) did not entertain in such manner as David enjoined their forefathers to entertain the ark of his presence. They would not acknowledge him to be their Messias, because they knew him not, nor the scriptures which did foretell this his coming. For as our apostle [b] with special reference to the words of this psalmist tells us, *had they known him to be that Lord of glory* unto whose honour David consecrated this hymn, *they would not have crucified him.* But by crucifying, or rather by his humiliation of himself unto the death of the cross, he was consecrated as man unto his everlasting priesthood, and made both Lord and King of glory.

1072

CHAP. XXXVI.

At what Time and upon what Occasions Psalm lxviii. *was composed: what Reference it hath (in the general) unto our Saviour's Ascension.*

ANOTHER psalm there is appointed by the wisdom of the ancient and continued by the discretion of the English church even since the first reformation, to be read or sung as a proper hymn to the festival of our Saviour's ascension; a psalm full of mysteries and divine raptures, apt to enkindle our hearts with zeal and admiration, could we find out, or rightly seek after either the historical occasions which ministered the matter or ditty of this divine song, or the several parts of scripture unto which most passages in it, according to the literal or historical sense, do respectively refer. The occasion of composing the psalm, to wit, lxviii, some

[b] 1 Cor. ii. 8.

Jewish rabbins conjecture to have been that glorious victory which Hezekiah, or rather the Lord of hosts in Hezekiah's days, got over Sennacherib and his mighty army. But the most of the more judicious Christian commentators, with greater probability or discretion, refer the occasion of composing this psalm to that solemn translation of the ark of God from Kirjath-jearim into mount Zion, at large described 2 Sam. vi: *David gathered together all the chosen men of Israel, thirty thousand. And David arose, and went with all the people that were with him from Baale of Judah, to bring up from thence the ark of God, whose name is called by the name of the Lord of hosts that dwelleth between the cherubims,* or, *at which the name, even the name of the Lord of hosts, was called upon.*

2. This latter opinion is in itself persuasible, or rather deserves full credence from the first words of the psalm, *Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered: let them also that hate him flee before him.* ver. 1. These were *verba solemnia,* the accustomed solemn form of prayer used so often as the ark of the covenant (which was to this people the most authentic pledge of God's peculiar presence and protection, and for this reason called by his name) did remove from one place to another during their pilgrimage in the wilderness. *And they departed from the mount of the Lord three days' journey: and the ark of the covenant of the Lord went before them in the three days' journey, to search out a resting place for them. And the cloud of the Lord was upon them by day, when they went out of the camp. And it came to pass, when the ark set forward, that Moses said, Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee. And when it rested, he said, Return, O Lord, unto the many thousands of Israel.* Num. x.

33—36. Moses prayed *conceptis verbis*, that God would arise and take part with his people. David, out of the fresh experience of God's mighty protection over him, his subjects, and allies so long as they worshipped him in truth and sincerity, in this symbol of his presence, seems to utter Moses' song rather by way of congratulation for victories already gotten than by way of instant prayer for present assistance; a great part of this most divine, most sublime ditty, is a recapitulation of the glorious victories which the God of Israel had purchased for his people, and upon their
1073 deliverance out of Egypt, and their other peculiar protections or succours which private men or women in their distress had found, when they were helpless in the sight of men, or oppressed by their neighbours: *Sing unto God, sing praises to his name: extol him that rideth upon the heavens by his name* JAH, *and rejoice before him. A father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows, is God in his holy habitation. God setteth the solitary in families: he bringeth out those which are bound with chains: but the rebellious dwell in a dry land.* vv. 4—6. The verses following refer to the public deliverance out of Egypt, and the majestic apparitions about mount Sinai: *O God, when thou wentest forth before thy people, when thou didst march through the wilderness; the earth shook, the heavens also dropped at the presence of God: even Sinai itself was moved at the presence of God, the God of Israel,* &c. vv. 7, 8. Some good interpreters here observe that the ark itself is called *Jehovah*, or *the Lord God of Israel*, by the same form of speech that the sacramental pledges are called, the one *the body*, the other *the blood* of Christ.

3. Now the sweet singer of Israel was confident that the God of their fathers would be as gracious to himself,

to his people, and their successors after he came to dwell in mount Zion, as he had been to Moses and Joshua in the wilderness, or unto Samuel while the tabernacle was in Shiloh or elsewhere, either in motion or pitched. Hence sprung those encomiastical expressions throughout the psalm of the glory of mount Zion, not so much for its native situation (though that were glorious) as for that it was now become the pedestal to the ark wherein Jehovah or Jah kept his residence. *The hill of God is as the hill of Bashan*[c]*; an high hill as the hill of Bashan. Why leap ye, ye high hills? this is the hill which God desireth to dwell in; yea, the Lord will dwell in it for ever.* vv. 15, 16. Yet all these glorious hopes, or hoped promises prophesied of in this psalm, are to be interpreted according to the rules before observed upon psalm lxxxix. Many of the blessings hoped for, and foreprophesied, were meant according to the literal sense of David himself and his posterity, yet but conditionally true of them, absolutely, irreversibly, and everlastingly true only of David's Son or seed, κατ' ἐξοχήν, that is, of that God and Lord, who in the fulness of time was to be enclosed in the Virgin's womb, and to have his everlasting habitation in the fruit of her body, after a more admirable and peculiar manner than he resided in the ark when David brought it unto the hill of Zion. He is often said indeed to dwell in the ark and in the temple, but never so did dwell in them in such a sense as our apostle describes his habitation in the man Christ Jesus, σωματικῶς, *bodily*, or as Chemnitius renders it, *by personal residence.*

4. For the encomiastical part of psalm lxviii, so far

[c] Bashan was a goodly hill-country, and graced with glorious victories over Og the king of that region, unto which, and the deliverance from Pharaoh and his host, these passages in this psalm do literally allude.

as it concerns mount Zion, Jerusalem, or Judah, the reader may find a paraphrastical exposition to it, psalm xlviii, which was composed after this, and as it is most probable in the days of Jehoshaphat. For any paraphrase or comment upon that psalm, I leave the learned reader to his own choice: I would only commend one passage of Calvin's comments upon it [d], which an ingenuous censurer of this great doctor, when he treads awry or speaks harshly, but a more friendly encomiast of him when he goes aright, hath commended to me upon the close of that psalm: *Walk about Zion,*
1074 *and go round about her: tell the towers thereof.* ver. 12. *Argutum simul et solidum est, et diligenter notandum, quod hic Calvinus auguratur et interpretatur de excidio urbis et templi, ut splendorem templi*

[d] Hæc sunt ipsa Calvini verba: "Propheta situm et pulchritudinem Ierosolymæ commendat, ac si diceret, urbem esse optime munitam et inexpugnabilem: quia aliqua ex parte in his externis notis fulgebat Dei benedictio. Quanquam memoria tenendum est, quod prius dixit, *Deum in ejus palatiis conspici in arcem.* Neque enim turres vel murum nunc commemorans, vult piorum mentes in illis subsistere, sed potius speculum proponit quod Dei faciem repræsentet. *Circundate* ergo *Zion* inquit, hoc est, attente circumspicite: *numerate turres, et studium vestrum applicate ad considerandum murum ejus:* æstimate pro dignitate palatia ejus. Ita facile constabit urbem esse divinitus electam; quia longe supra alias omnes emineat. Nam in hoc totus est ut appareat qualitas illa et persona qua dominus Ierosolymam induerat, eam sibi in sacrarium et in domicilium populo suo erigens. Cæterum propheta finem notando, ut narretur posteris forma et splendor urbis sanctæ, tacite innuere videtur venturum aliquando tempus quo non amplius poterit conspici. Quorsum enim narratio in re manifesta et ante oculos posita? Quanquam ergo paulo ante dixit, urbem illam perpetuo stabilitam esse, nunc per modum correctionis admonet qualis futura sit perpetuitas, nempe quæ ad renovationem duntaxat ecclesiæ duret. Nos enim sumus illa posteritas ad quam pertinet ac dirigitur narratio. Quia quæcunque veteri populo Deus beneficia contulit, nobis communia sunt: non quod splendor ille externus, quo admirabilis fuit Ierosolyma, hodie inter nos emineat, sed quia spiritualibus donis non minus splendide ornata fuit ecclesia post exhibitum Christum, quam olim muris et turribus instructa Ierusalem sub legis umbris." Calvinus in 12 ver. psal. xlviii.

narrent posteritati. Non opus erat auditu et narratione si visibus humanis semper patuisset. Narrantur posteritati quæ non exhibentur, veluti, quotidiana oracula et spectacula. Cop. in v. 14. This commendable observation upon ps. xlviii. makes a speech of this same Calvin upon the principal passages of psalm lxviii. more harsh and distasteful to this ingenuous censurer, and to others which have their senses exercised in the interpretation of prophecies, especially such as are alleged by the apostles or evangelists. So was ver. 19.[e] of this psalm urged by St. Paul to prove our Saviour's ascension, Ephes. iv. *Calvinus ait: Paulus locum hunc subtilius ad Christum deflectit; mallem dicere, divinius ad Christum transfert et accommodat.*

5. But this ingenious writer and accurate Latinist useth this word *accommodate* in another sense than Jansenius, Suarez, or Maldonate, or other literalists do, which oftentimes, though not always, oppose the word *accommodation*, or allusion, to concludent proof: for of all the prophecies which point directly to the article of Christ's ascension, this ver. 19, alleged by St. Paul to this purpose, is most concludent, if we could rightly parallel the literal or historical passages, which are well deciphered by Calvin, with the mystical or principally intended sense or actual accomplishment of David's words. The historical occasion from which the spirit of prophecy in David took its rise to proclaim this grand mystery of the gospel, was the often mentioned triumphant introduction of the ark of God (or in equivalent sense, the God of Israel which dwelt in the ark) into the hill of Zion; which from this time and occasion was instyled *the place of God's rest;* because the ark of God (as was presumed) was there to reside

[e] *Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive.* Coppen, in ver. 19.

without wandering, as in the place which God had chosen for it. To this purpose, psalm lxxviii. 66—69: *He smote his enemies in the hinder part: he put them to a perpetual reproach. Moreover he refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim: but chose the tribe of Judah, the mount Zion which he loved. And he built his sanctuary like high palaces, like the earth which he hath established for ever.* From this designation of the ark to reside in Jerusalem, David, haply, who knew best the tenor of God's promise concerning this business, would not suffer it to go along with him when he fled from Jerusalem, as being in danger of surprisal by his son Absalom.

1075 CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Concludency of the Apostle's Allegation, Ephes. iv. 7, 8, *out of Psalm* lxviii. 18.

BUT to set forth the parallel betwixt the prophet and our apostle; the custom among the Romans, and other nations, was to bestow congiaries or largesses upon their friends or natives, when they led their enemies captive in solemn triumph. Whether David led any enemies, of which he had conquered many, in such triumph, or whether he did merely as a prophet, or sacred poet, display his former victories gotten over the enemies of God and his church, by the manner of the nations' triumphs over their enemies, is not in my observation evident. This is certain, he dispersed not painted or poetical, but real largesses unto the people, in grateful memory of the former victories which God had given to him and his predecessors, the former champions, for the people of Israel. And more than probable it is, that David in this hymn had special

reference to the victories and triumphs of Barak and his associates over Sisera, most divinely expressed by Deborah in her song, Judges v. 9, 12, 13: *My heart is toward the governors of Israel, that offered themselves willingly among the people. Bless ye the Lord.— Awake, awake, Deborah: awake, awake, utter a song: arise, Barak, and lead thy captivity captive, thou son of Abinoam. Then he made him that remaineth have dominion over the nobles among the people: the Lord made me have dominion over the mighty.* Whether David when he composed psalm lxviii. did imitate the triumph of Barak and Deborah over Sisera, general of Jabin's host, by matter of fact, as by leading his captives in triumph, which is most probable, or only seek to exceed Deborah in his song, by more full expressions of his thankfulness towards God, who had given him greater victories over greater enemies, is not manifest: but it is more than matter of opinion, or pious credulity, that both the victories of Barak and David over the visible enemies of God's people, or whatsoever other historical occasions Deborah, or Barak, or David had to utter their songs, were but types, or ominous or lucky prenotions of that great victory which the Seed of David, the Son of God, was to obtain over the old serpent and his seed, over death itself, and all the powers of darkness. The triumph of the one or other (David, I mean, or Barak) was but a picture or painted shadow of that triumphant conquest described by our apostle, Coloss. ii. 13, 14, 15: *And you, being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him, having forgiven you all trespasses; blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, and took it out of the way; and having spoiled principalities and powers,*

he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it.

2. The harmony between the literal or historical sense of David's words, though we weigh them only according to Calvin's comments upon them—*Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive: thou hast received gifts for men*—and the mystical interpretations of them given by St. Paul, is as sweet as plain, such as need no descant besides the bare proposal of the psalmist's text and apostle's interpretation of it, or considerations of the occasions which
1076 David had to speak, as in the forecited place he doth. David and Barak, with other conquerors, when they led captivity captive, gave gifts unto their friends—gifts of divers sorts to several persons—silver and gold, or other guerdons, to their well-deserving captains or soldiers; raiments of needlework unto women of better rank; wine and cakes, or other like junkets, to poor women and children. *As soon as David had made an end of offering burnt offerings and peace offerings, he blessed the people in the name of the Lord of hosts. And he dealt among all the people, even among the whole multitude of Israel, as well to the women as men, to every one a cake of bread, and a good piece of flesh, and a flagon of wine. So all the people departed every one to his house.* 2 Sam. vi. 18, 19. And this was the time when he brought the ark of God in solemn procession into the hill of Zion. *But unto every one of us* (saith the apostle in the forecited place, which contains the evangelical mystery parallel to this historical relation) *is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherefore he saith, When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.*

(*Now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things.*) *And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.* Ephes. iv. 7—13.

3. From this improvement of the psalmist's literal sense and mystical interpretation of his practice, which no good Christian will deny to be authentic as being made by the apostle, the diligent reader may easily find out the mystical or prophetical sense of the verses following in psalm lxviii, so far as they concern the article of our Saviour's ascension, or the propagation of the kingdom of God, which followed upon it. To take the clear view of the mystical sense of the verses mentioned, the reader with me must take his rise from the literal sense, which is twofold; the one containing an historical expression of what was to be acted for the present by David and his attendants, when he brought the ark into mount Zion; the other, a relation or retro-aspect unto the solemnities used by Barak and his attendants, in their triumph over Sisera. So it followeth: *They have seen thy goings, O God; even the goings of my God, my King, in the sanctuary.* These words are characters or notes of the solemn procession of the ark; for whilst the ark or sanctuary did go or march unto mount Zion, the God and King of Israel did go with it, and in it; and in this procession *the singers went before, the players on instruments*

followed after; among them were the damsels playing with timbrels. Psalm lxviii. 25. The solemnity of singing in God's service was more complete in David's time than it had been in the days of Moses or of the judges; yet songs and music they had then in their solemn processions or gratulations, and damsels playing upon timbrels, as it is evident out of Exod. xv, Judges v, and other ancient sacred histories; though such processions at this day (such is the alteration of times and seasons) would be as unsightly to us modern Christians, whether protestants or papists, as it would be to an English protestant to see the consecrated host or body of our
1077 Lord, whilst carried about in solemn procession, attended with a morris-dance, or other like gambols. But the burden of the song used by David, was that, psalm lxviii. 26: *Bless ye God in the congregations, even the Lord, from* (or *ye that are of*) *the fountain of Israel.* For not Judah only, but the rest had their portion in the son of Jesse: for *there is little Benjamin with their ruler, the princes of Judah and their council, the princes of Zebulun, and the princes of Naphtali,* ver. 27. These tribes with their governors, in all probability, did give David best attendance in this great service done to the ark, or rather to the God of Israel that dwelt in it, as some of them likewise had been principal assistants unto Barak, highly commended for their service by Deborah: *Out of Ephraim was there a root of them against Amalek; after thee, Benjamin, among thy people.* Judges v. 14. After a sharp tax of some other tribes for their great backwardness in the service of God, she adds: *Zebulun and Naphtali were a people that jeoparded their lives unto the death in the high places of the field,* ver. 18. In the first procession of the ark, Numb. x, all the tribes with their rulers did attend it, so did they not

Barak, in the battle of the Lord against Jabin and Sisera; the excellent services of these tribes, mentioned by David in this procession with the ark to mount Zion, did prognosticate or portend, that when the true ark was exhibited, that is, when the God of their fathers should come and dwell, and walk among them in the midst of them, as Moses had promised, his chief attendants should be these tribes commended by Deborah and David. Christ Jesus himself the God of Israel, whom David and his fathers worshipped, was of the tribe of Judah; Paul of the tribe of Benjamin; Peter and Andrew, and most of the other apostles or prime disciples, were of the tribe of Zebulun and Naphtali; and made more than princes of their families, his witnesses and ambassadors, not to the end of the earth, but to the ends of the world.

4. Some of the ancients, and among the rest St. Austin, if my memory fail not, think they have found out St. Paul charactered in the forecited prophecy, *There was little Benjamin their ruler*, &c. And assuredly it was not a matter of mere chance or fancy, that this great apostle of the Gentiles should have his name changed from Saul unto Paul, a name borrowed as some think from Sergius Paulus, and *paulus* in the Latin signifies "a little one." And this was a name better befitting this great apostle's disposition after his calling than the name of Saul, which was the name of the first king of Israel, and one of the greatest of his tribe. That Saul was little in his own eyes before he was king, but great after, whereas this apostle Paul was little in his own eyes, but great in the eyes of the Lord, after he was made ruler of the people; but to wave this conjecture of the ancients, and not to dispute the reason why Benjamin should be called *little* by David in that catalogue, wherein he had the pre-

cedency in order of Judah, most other passages throughout this psalm lxviii, from ver. 19, are eminently prophetical. *Blessed be the Lord, who daily loadeth us with benefits, even the God of our salvation. He that is our God is the God of salvation; and unto God the Lord belong the issues from death.* vv. 19, 20. These are characters of God incarnate, or made man, or of the man Christ Jesus, made salvation itself, and of this Jesus raised from death: for from this title the issues of death or deliverance from it belong to him as his peculiar: more apparently are those passages, ver. 31, &c., literally meant, at least exactly fulfilled of
1078 Jesus Christ after his resurrection and ascension to his holy hill, or heavenly sanctuary: *Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God. Sing unto God, ye kingdoms of the earth; O sing praises unto the Lord: to him that rideth upon the heavens of heavens, which were of old; lo, he doth send out his voice, and that a mighty voice. Ascribe ye strength unto God: his excellency is over Israel, and his strength is in the clouds. O God, thou art terrible out of thy holy places: the God of Israel is he that giveth strength and power unto his people. Blessed be God.* vv. 31—35.

5. As for the prayer conceived first by Moses, afterwards assumed by David after the removal of the ark—*Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered: let them also that hate him flee before him*—and all those menaces of fearful judgments upon God's enemies, pronounced by David in this psalm as appendices to it, these were never so exactly fulfilled, either of the Canaanites, Moabites, Philistims, or other enemies of Israel, whiles the material ark did remove from place to place, or settled in Jerusalem, as they have been of the seed of Abraham and of Jacob, since their God did

arise from death in our nature, which he consecrated to be the true and living ark of God. Nor can the truth of God's promises unto Abraham, David, or their seed, no, not according to the literal sense of the prophecies which concern them, be any way impeached by taking his punishing hand from their heads, and laying it more heavily upon his sometimes chosen people. For seeing they became the sworn enemies of the God of their fathers, revealed in the ark of his flesh, the forementioned prayer or imprecation of Moses and David was more literally and punctually directed against them, than against Amalek, Moab, Ammon, &c.: for these, whether we take them jointly or severally, were no greater enemies of God than other heathen nations were, save only in this, that they were greater enemies to his chosen people, the seed of Jacob, by reason of their vicinity as bordering upon their coasts, which always nurseth quarrels between nations disunited in sovereignty or form of government; whereas the Jewish seed of Abraham, which had been sometimes God's elect people, without occasion given became the immediate enemies of their God, and for his sake more bloody persecutors of the Gentiles, yea of their own brethren according to the flesh, after they with the Gentiles had become his chosen people. Now Moses' prayer or David's imprecation did not aim at the persons of men, of what nation soever, but at their malicious qualifications or enmities against God, whether direct or indirect; so that since the seed of Abraham became the enemies of God and his Christ, they may be more truly said to have dashed against the psalmist's or Moses' curse, than it to have fallen upon or overtaken them; and yet for all this, as we learn from St. Paul, Rom. xi, that other prayer of Moses when the ark rested shall bear date again,

shall be fulfilled for the good of these yet castaways. *When the ark rested, Moses said, Return, O Lord, unto the many thousands of Israel.* Numb. x. 36. This strange devolution of God's mercies and judgments from one people to another, making the downfall of one nation to be the advancement of another to his free grace and mercy, (not the points of election and reprobation, as there hath been a mist cast upon them by unskilful controversers, whereas St. Paul had left them clear enough,) was that βάθος, whose deeper consideration did extort that pathetical ejaculation from him:
1079 *O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!* &c.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

That the Manner of our Saviour's Ascension was more clearly foreseen by Daniel than by David, and most exactly foreshadowed by Matters of Fact in Mosaical and other sacred Histories: a Parallel between Solomon's Consecration of the Temple, and our Saviour's Consecration or sanctifying of himself and his heavenly Sanctuary.

WHETHER David did distinctly apprehend the manner of our Saviour's ascension, and propagation of his dominion over all things in heaven and earth, both which he did foretell and foreshadow by matter of fact and service done to the ark; or whether he did at all foreguess, or suspect the turning of God's heavy hand upon his seed and Jacob's seed according to the flesh, is a point not altogether out of question, were it fit to be inquired into. But (as hath been [f] observed heretofore) our belief or right apprehension of the truth of divine mysteries doth not depend upon their knowledge

[f] In the seventh book, sect. 2. chap. 16.

or apprehension which did foretell or relate their prefigurations, but on the contrivance of divine, unerring, allseeing providence, by whose inspiration and secret instinct, both the prophets and evangelists did both speak and write. But be the former doubt concerning David's apprehension of these mysteries waved or determined as it may be, this we know and may resolve, whatsoever in the former psalm was foretold or foreshadowed by David, concerning the manner of our Saviour's ascension or propagation of his kingdom, was more clearly foreseen by Daniel, and as punctually foreshadowed by matter of fact in Mosaical histories. To begin with the testimony of Daniel, which was merely prophetical, a pure vision: *And I beheld in visions by night, behold, one like the Son of man came in the clouds of heaven, and approached unto the Ancient of days, and they brought him before him. And he gave him dominion, and honour, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall never be taken away, and his kingdom shall never be destroyed.* In that he saith he was *like unto the Son of man*, this doth not import that he was not truly man, or only like to man, but that more glory was due unto him than to any mere son of man; and that he was the true Son of that Ancient of days unto whom he was brought: and as our apostle saith, *that being in the form of God, and equal unto God, yet he was found in the likeness and shape of man*, that is, as essentially like to man as like to God. The prophet describes his presentation to his Father by the angels and celestial powers attending him, which our evangelist relateth not, because (haply) this could not be seen by waking and mortal eyes, but only by vision or rapture of spirit. The same prophet likewise describes the manner of his

ascension, as exactly as if he had been a waking spectator of it with the apostles and disciples.

1080 2. But to resume the prophet's words: *Behold*, saith the prophet, *one like the Son of man came in the clouds of heaven, and approached unto the Ancient of days.* He doth not say he was brought up in the clouds of heaven, for the motion was his own; he was the agent or mover, as well as the party moved in this ascension. So the evangelist saith, Acts i. 9—11: *And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight. And while they looked stedfastly toward heaven as he went up, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel; which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven?—Emphasim habent verba hæc, videntibus illis:* it was remarkably said that he was taken up, *his disciples looking on;* for this imports, as some of the ancients observe, that Christ did ascend by little and little, as it were by certain steps, that he might feed the eyes and refresh the souls of his disciples. He was not raught up as Elias was, who had but one witness, nor as St. Paul, who had no witness besides himself, scarce himself a witness of his rapture, for whether he were taken up *in the body, or out of the body, God knows,* (saith he;) *I cannot tell.* But our Saviour went by the power of his omnipotency; he descended when he would, and when he would ascended, appointing what spectators or witnesses it pleased him, with the place, the time, the very day and hour.

3. As St. Luke's description of our Saviour's ascension is a complete explanation of Daniel's vision; so is that vision, of the mystical sense of Mosaical or other histories, concerning the ark or tabernacle. For the unfolding of this point we are to take the forementioned

prenotion for our rule, to wit, that the ark of the covenant wherein God was said to dwell, was but a type or shadow of the human nature of Christ, in which the Godhead dwelleth bodily, σωματικῶς. The other branch of this prenotion is as clear, that the tabernacle which Moses erected in the wilderness, in which he placed the ark, was but a petty model of that celestial tabernacle into which Christ is entered, of which the temple built by Solomon was somewhat a fairer draught; yet no more than a little map. Now immediately after Moses had finished the work of the tabernacle, *a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle*, Exod. xl. 34, &c. More expressly, Numb. ix. 15: *And on the day that the tabernacle was reared up the cloud covered the tabernacle, namely, the tent of the testimony: and at even there was upon the tabernacle as it were the appearance of fire, until the morning.* The most memorable history to this purpose is, 1 Kings viii. 1. 10, 11, *when Solomon had assembled all the elders of Israel, and heads of the tribes, to bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the city of David to the temple.—And it came to pass, when the priests were come out of the holy place, that the cloud filled the house of the Lord, so that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud: for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of the Lord.* The Son of God, in whose breast, as he is the Son of David, the covenant made with mankind is registered most exactly, and kept safer than the tables of the first covenant were in the ark when it was brought into the temple, had his throne and sanctuary prepared of old, or, to use our apostle's dialect, *non erat hujus structuræ*—they were not thrones or sanctuaries made with hands; yet to be consecrated by the blood of our High Priest; and

being thus prepared, *a cloud did cover this living Ark of God and High Priest*, upon the day that he was
1081 to enter into the holy place. After the cloud took him from his disciples' sight, he filled the everlasting tabernacle with his glory, being more reverently adored by all the host of heaven, than he had been either by Solomon, or the elders of Israel, when they brought the ark of his covenant into the temple, or by his apostles after his resurrection.

4. At the same time wherein the ark was brought by the priest into the most holy place, Solomon kneeling before the altar of the Lord, first blessed God, and consecrated the temple by that divine prayer never to be forgotten by good Christians. And as soon as he had ended his prayer, he rose up, and blessed the congregation of Israel with a loud voice, saying, *Blessed be the Lord, that hath given rest unto his people Israel, according to all that he promised: there hath not failed one word of all his good promise, which he promised by the hand of Moses his servant*, 1 Kings viii. 56, &c. His prayers to God and blessing of the people are more than paralleled by our Saviour's prayers for his own consecration, and the spiritual blessings thence to be derived upon his apostles, John xvii. 4, &c. One part of Solomon's prayer, when he blessed the people, was this: *Let these my words, wherewith I have made supplication before the Lord, be nigh unto the Lord our God day and night, that he maintain the cause of his servant, and the cause of his people Israel at all times, as the matter shall require: that all the people of the earth may know that the Lord is God, and that there is none else.* 1 Kings viii. 59, 60. This part is rather accomplished than paralleled by our Saviour: *I pray for them: I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast*

given me; for they are thine, John xvii. 9. *And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth. Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.* vv. 19—21.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Into what Place or Part of Heaven our Saviour did ascend, or in what Manner he sitteth at the right Hand of God, are Points not so fit to be particularly inquired after, nor so apt to be proved or determined by Scripture, as the other Articles of our Creed.

BUT however He whose prayers were always heard, did thus pray for his followers a little before his agony and bloody passion, and bestow his solemn blessing upon them immediately after his resurrection and before his ascension; yet the extraordinary blessings which he prayed for, and promised in his Father's name, were not really conferred until he was actually enthronized; but shortly after showered down in abundance upon his apostles and those that believed through their report. So he foretold them when he was ready to ascend: *Behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.* Luke xxiv. 49. The exhibition of the blessings here promised, was Acts ii. 32—35: *This Jesus hath* 1082
God raised up, whereof we all are witnesses. Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this, which ye now see and hear. For David is not ascended into the heavens: but he saith himself, The Lord said unto

my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thy foes thy footstool. When he saith *David is not ascended into heaven,* this must be understood of his ascension thither in body; and this negative he had strongly proved before. But whether David's soul had ascended, or was carried into heaven before this time, this place doth neither warrant us to affirm or deny. David's soul, before this, was in a place of bliss, in heaven itself, not *in limbo:* but whether in that heaven, or that part of heaven, into which our Saviour did now in body ascend, is more questionable than determinable. Some good writers with great probability and equal modesty affirm, that Christ did now ascend in body far higher than the mansions of bliss appointed for the saints, prophets, apostles, &c., or for angels of the highest rank. And to this purpose is that of our apostle alleged by them, Ephes. iv. 10, *He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things;* and other like places, wherein he is said *to be exalted above all powers and principalities.* Some grave [g] postillers or discreet preachers would persuade us, that Christ's throne of majesty was pitched *in luce inaccessa,* in that region of light and bliss which is inaccessible to any mere creature, man or angel, as being reserved for the peculiar mansion of the invisible God and Father of lights, and for his Son, both God and man, enthronized as king and priest on his right hand. But whether the exaltation of the Son of God unto the right hand of his Father, far above all powers, dominions, and principalities, do include a superiority, not of sovereignty or dominion only, but withal of place, according to local distance, or a supereminent throne of majesty, if the Lutheran will not be too choleric, or Maldonate's asso-

[g] Amongst others Didacus Yanguas.

ciates too censorious, may be in fitter place soberly debated.

2. But however the one or other of these may be affected, the best is, we need not be too curious in these points, especially with men apt to quarrel about phrases or expressions. Other articles concerning Christ we are bound to believe distinctly and explicitly, according to the plain literal or grammatical sense of the words, wherein the evangelists and apostles have expressed them, without the veil of any rhetorical trope or allegory. And strange it is not, if our belief of other articles, or knowledge of them, be literally required; seeing the matter contained in them is sensible and comprehensible to reason sanctified by grace: as his conception, although it were wrought immediately by a supernatural cause, albeit the manner of it were miraculous, yet for substance it was univocally the same with our conception: he was as truly and properly conceived as we are conceived: he was as truly made of the substance of his mother as we are made of the substance of our parents, or as Adam was made of the earth: he was as truly and as properly born as we are born: he was really and as properly circumcised as any other child of Abraham was: he suffered truly, and as properly as any man can suffer: he was as truly and as properly crucified, dead, and buried, and rose again, as any man ever was crucified, dead, and buried, or can rise again. But for the place whither he ascended, or for the manner of his sitting at the right 1083
hand of God, these cannot be so distinctly conceived by us, because they are not in such proper terms expressed by the Holy Ghost, but are wrapped up in a veil of legal shadows or representations. Concerning the place whither he ascended, we know in general that it was a place of joy, of bliss and glory; but which place the

apostle himself could not better represent unto us than by the *sanctum sanctorum*, or the most holy place in the tabernacle or temple. *Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast, and which entereth into that within the veil; whither the forerunner is for us entered, even Jesus, made an high priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.* Heb. vi. 19, 20. So St. John emblazons the glory of Christ by the pontifical attire and robes of Aaron, as likewise he doth the beauty of Christ's kingdom by the feast of tabernacles.

3. The best and safest means for conceiving aright, at least for not conceiving amiss, of these two heavenly mysteries, is not by critical scanning the literal sense or importance of the prophets' words in their descriptions of them, but by sincere practice of those known duties whereto our belief of these unknown mysteries binds us. The most general and necessary duty whereto we are bound by belief of our Saviour's resurrection and ascension into heaven is that of our apostle, Col. iii. 1—6: *If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory. Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry: for which things' sake the wrath of God cometh on the children of disobedience.* But if these works of the flesh be mortified by the Spirit, the Spirit of God, having gotten possession of our hearts, doth organize them, and frame a true model of the heavenly sanctuary within our breasts,

albeit we cannot express our affectionate conceits or experimental representations unto others. Christ is present with us, or in us by this renovation of our mind, or by imprinting these heavenly affections in our souls, by following love, gentleness, meekness, temperance, patience, &c. Christ is really fashioned in us, not by converting any substance into his substance, or by real converting his substance into ours, but by conversion of our earthly affections into the similitude of his heavenly affections: our affections being thus converted, Christ hath his throne and habitation in our hearts, so answering to his heavenly throne, as the light of the sun gathered in some round body apt to reflect his beams, or to be penetrated by them, doth resemble the sun which really penetrates and enlightens them. For effecting this real conversion of our affections into the similitude of his affections, no other presence of Christ is either necessary or expedient, besides the presence of his Spirit, by which, ten days after his ascension, he enabled his disciples to conceive aright of these heavenly mysteries, and to convert others unto the truth of his gospel.

4. That Christ's body should descend from heaven unto us, or be bodily present by transubstantiation, or some other manner, as some conceive, we have no reason to hope, nor warrant to believe; to lift up our bodies unto heaven, we have no possibility; but to lift up our hearts and spirits unto our Lord, now placed in his heavenly throne, we have peremptory precepts many. 1084
But how shall we lift them up, or what power have we to lift them up? Not so much, I confess, as we have to cast ourselves down before his throne; but casting ourselves down before him, which we cannot perform without his preventing and assisting grace, we have a sure promise that he will lift us up. We are nowhere,

to my remembrance, commanded to pray to God that he would cast us down, and yet bound to pray that he would give us grace to cast ourselves down. As often then as we meditate upon this article of Christ's ascension, or sitting at the right hand of God, let us beseech God and him, that the priests may truly exhort their charge, his people, "to lift up their hearts," and that the people may as truly answer, "We lift them up unto the Lord;" and that we may all jointly sing that hymn in reverence and true devotion, "With angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud thy glorious name, O Christ; evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory: glory be to thee, O Lord most high. Amen."

CHAP. XL.

How the Time of our Saviour's Ascension into Heaven, upon the fortieth Day after his Resurrection from the Grave, was prefigured by the Sign of the Prophet Jonas, with the Exposition of that Sign given by our Saviour, Matt. xii. 39, 40.

ONE thing more I should have said in the former treatise, but now must commend it to the reader's observation; and it is this; that many of those prophetical passages, specially in the psalms, of *bringing great things to pass by the right hand of the Lord*, have been, are, and shall be most punctually fulfilled of and in the Son of God incarnate, since he was placed at the right hand of God the Father. That his placing there includes an extraordinary eminency of power, more than hath been formerly manifested, the Lutheran I am sure doth not, and I hope others cannot deny. Two special manifestations of the power of the right hand of God were exhibited not long after his ascen-

sion. The first spiritual, as the descending of the Holy Ghost, from which time the holy catholic church bare date, or began to be *in esse*. The other was the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the rejected relics of Abraham's seed throughout the nations.

2. The circumstance of the time wherein he ascended, which is the only point left to be discussed, is plainly set down by the evangelist St. Luke, Acts xiii. The queries upon it are two: the first, how it was prefigured; the second, what it did portend.

3. For the resolution of both these queries, there can be no firmer ground than the explication of a sacred text uttered by our Saviour himself, Matt. xii. 38—40: *Then certain of the scribes and of the Pharisees answered, saying, Master, we would see a* 1085 *sign from thee. But he answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas: for as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.*

4. But yet, for any help we have from most interpreters, the explication of this text is in itself more difficult than most of the former alleged for our Saviour's resurrection and ascension. Whoso will read as many ancient or modern expositors as Maldonate had done, will haply subscribe to his censure of such as he hath read. So far was any of them from clearing this passage, that not one besides Hilarius did in his judgment touch the principal difficulty contained in it. And he that shall read this learned writer's comments upon this place will perhaps not condemn

my [h] opinion of him delivered in former meditations. But my desire is rather to explicate his and other interpreters' meaning, whom he dislikes, than contradict them; and to rectify the parallels intended by them between types or figures of the Old Testament and their accomplishment in the New.

5. The principal difficulties in our Saviour's parallel are, first, what manner of *sign* it was which the *adulterous generation* sought for; the second, to what purpose he gave them such a sign as they did not seek after. Our Saviour before, and his disciples after this time, had given the Jews one and other many miraculous signs: how then doth he say *that no sign shall be given them, besides the sign of the prophet Jonas?* Some are of opinion that these scribes and Pharisees desired some such glorious sign from heaven as Elias and Samuel had shewed, and that our Saviour should put them off with such an answer as the Muscovite did a neighbour prince, who, to pacify his anger, had sent him a curious celestial globe: *Tu mihi cœlum mittis redde terras de quibus contendimus*[i]. The scribes and Pharisees, as these writers think, demand a sign from the heavens above, and our Saviour gave them one from the earth or waters below. But if they had demanded a sign to prove his divinity, as these writers think, the sign of Elias's ascension had been more illustrious and effectual to this purpose. Maldonate's resolution of this difficulty is, that our Saviour speaks not of a sign to persuade them as they sought, but of a sign to condemn them, and that our Saviour useth (as he doth in many other places quoted by this author) an elegant ambiguity. That the men of Nineveh's

[h] Nunquam inepte sæpius acute rarius exquisite.

[i] Vide Petrum Ramum in scholiis Mathematicis, lib. 1.

repentance at Jonas's preaching was an infallible argument of these Jews' future condemnation, or a sign which left them altogether unexcusable for not repenting after our Saviour's resurrection from the dead, no Christian can deny. But whether this sign was given them for their condemnation, rather than for confirming their belief, or for provoking them to repentance, we may well doubt; and Maldonate, if he had been constant to his positions elsewhere, must acknowledge the latter branch of this division to have been more probable. His answer though, to speak the truth, brings us out of a blind bypath into a fairer way, which leads us directly to a labyrinth of disputations, concerning the cause and manner of these Jews' rejection, into which at this time I will not enter.

6. The true meaning of our Saviour's words, con- 1086
sidered with references unto former passages, I should conceive to be as if he had said, "Albeit I have done such works as none but the Son of God could have done amongst you, such as would have cheered Abraham's heart to have seen; yet this adulterous generation, or degenerate kind of men, which boast themselves to be the seed of Abraham, demand a further sign: but though I should give them all the signs possible in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, there could be no sign like to the sign of the prophet Jonas. Go therefore and see what that means, or expect the fulfilling of it by the event; otherwise the men of Nineveh shall condemn you, for they repented at Jonah's preaching; yet was the sign which God had given them by his deliverance from the whale no sign in comparison of that which I give unto you." So that our Saviour's words do not exclude all other signs, either given by him or by his apostles, but only argues that no sign for their instruc-

tion or future safety could be given in comparison of this, so they would diligently inquire after the meaning of it. But seeing they did not, whom the meaning of this enigmatical forewarning did most, or in the first place at least, concern; let us of this age, whom it much concerns to take instruction from their folly, as far as we are able, redeem their negligence in this particular inquiry.

7. When our Saviour saith, *As Jonas was three days and three nights,* &c. *so the Son of man*—this note of similitude, ὥσπερ, according to the ordinary rate of speech, implies, that the Son of man should be fully as long in the belly of the earth as Jonas had been in the belly of the whale. Now the time of Jonas's durance there is so punctually expressed, Jonah i. 17.—*Now the Lord had prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah. And Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights*—that any ordinary reader will conceive it should contain three natural days, as from Friday in the morning, until the sun-rising or dawning on Monday; or from Friday at night, until Monday at night, that is, the whole course of three natural days. But thus long it is evident our Saviour did not remain in the grave: for he was interred on the sixth day towards the sunsetting, and rose again the first day with the sun, or a little before it; so that the longest time of his imprisonment in the grave was but so many hours as he had been weeks in the womb, thirty-six, or thrice twelve in the one, and thirty-six, or thrice twelve in the other. The difficulty proposed then, whether as it concerns the time of Jonas's abode in the belly of the whale, or of our Saviour's in the womb of the earth, cannot be clearly resolved by that construction which lawyers sometimes make, *in favorabilibus*, that is, for the greater part of

three days; nor by that synecdoche which we allow in ordinary cases; as if a man would prove that his friend had been in the city to attend the court three days together, it would not be expected that he should make affidavit, to prove that he had been three whole days from morning to evening; it would suffice that he had been in the city some part of every one of the three days, or that he had attended the court at competent hours in every one of the three days instanced in; as suppose, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday. The true reason of all such legal allowances of synecdoches, as grammarians and rhetoricians term them, is grounded upon that unquestionable rule of reason or logic: *Ad veritatem indefinitæ propositionis adstruendam sufficit* 1087
veritas unius vel alterius particularis. He that saith the Athenians were learned men, is not bound to prove this universal—that all the Athenians were learned; it were enough to give pertinent instance in some few; for he that covenanteth to pay his day-labourer as his neighbours do, is not bound to pay them as much as any of all his neighbours do; if he make as just payment as any one or two of his good neighbours do to their hirelings, this in legal construction will acquit him from breach of covenant: now times and seasons, days, weeks, and hours, have their universal or indefinite *extense* or limitations, as well as men, or other things numerable or measurable. That may be truly said to be this day's work which is done or wrought upon any part of this day current. And according to this synecdoche or just allowance, our Saviour may in legal or logical construction be truly said to be in the womb of the earth three days and three nights; that is, in some part of Friday, all Saturday, and in some part of Sunday. But this synecdoche will not either by

legal or logical allowance reach unto three nights: that he was two entire nights in the grave is *de fide*, a point of faith, but no point of faith or probability that he should be in the grave any least part of any third night.

8. May we not then believe that he was three days and three nights in the belly of the earth? By all means we must. Maldonate acutely discovers the original of others' error, or rather of the difficulty which had perplexed so many of the ancients, (who made it greater than in his opinion it needed to have been,) to be this, that they made their calculations according to the scale of other nations or languages, not by the Hebrew computation, which doth not oppose day unto night, but take day and night for one natural day. His observation is true, and helps in part to salve the truth of the literal sense, if he had given the true reason of this their account: but yet under correction, the instances which he brings from the Hebrew account of the fasting of Moses and Elias, (both which are expressed to have fasted forty days and forty nights,) do rather prejudice than clear the true meaning of our Saviour's prediction, *that he was to continue three days and three nights in the belly of the earth*. For certainly Moses and Elias, and so our Saviour in the wilderness, did fast as well forty nights as forty days, or forty natural days complete, without any synecdochical abatement either of one day or night; whereas from the three days and three nights wherein our Saviour foretold he was to continue in the womb of the earth, we must abate the one half of a natural day, besides the space of one hour, or one hour and an half at the most. This abatement being fully made, he did continue in propriety of sacred dialect in the grave three days and three nights, if we would measure his divine pre-

diction by the most ancient and original scale of the Hebrew accompt which Moses used throughout the history of the creation.

9. Briefly, the three days and three nights in Matt. xii. are equivalent to three of those evenings and mornings which made up half of the six natural days wherein the world was created. The evening, we know, was in order of time before the morning; whence it is that the Hebrews begun their natural day from the vespers or twilight; that which we call Saturday night was to them the beginning of the first day of the week; our Sunday at night, the beginning of their second; Monday at night, of their third; Tuesday night, of their fourth; Wednesday night, of 1088
their fifth; Thursday night, of their sixth; Friday night, of their seventh day or sabbath. Moses, in his description of the six days of the world's creation, gives the true hint for interpreting our Saviour's words as we have done, when he said, *The evening and the morning were the first, second, and the third day*, &c. For this is all one as if he had said, 'The heaven and the earth were created in six days and six nights;' and albeit he made no mention of any evening or morning of the seventh day wherein God did rest from his work, yet may we not think but that day consisted of the same parts whereof the other six days did, only the vicissitude of the evening and morning is omitted in the description of that day, to represent the everlasting sabbath whereof it was a type, wherein is no night; as the genealogy of Melchisedec, in respect of predecessors or successors, is not mentioned by the same Moses, because the Holy Ghost, by whose direction he wrote, would have him brought in without genealogy; because he might resemble the eternity of our High Priest the Son of God. From these premises we

may safely conclude, that when our Saviour foretold he should be three days and three nights in the belly of the earth, this is all one as if he had said, he should be three evenings and mornings in the womb of the earth. The conclusion being granted, the former synecdoche is in this case most allowable; for it is evident that our Saviour was interred in the sixth evening and morning, that is, on Friday, which was the sixth day of the week, according to the Hebrews' accompt, before the setting of the sun, or the evening following, which was the beginning of the seventh natural day or sabbath; during all which, as well the whole evening as the morning, he rested in his grave, at least until the dawning of the first day; during whose evening or night preceding he likewise rested there. So that he was in the womb of the earth in part of the sixth evening and morning, or sixth night and day, and all the sabbath, as it consists of night and day, and all the whole night succeeding the sabbath, and part of the morning following, for he did not arise till after the break of day, or till the sun begun to approach the horizon.

10. This form of accompting the week by day and night, or by evening and morning, doth more lively character the succession of times or vicissitude of seasons, than if we should measure the same space either by nights alone or by days alone, as when we English describe the space of a complete week by seven nights, or the space of half a month by a fortnight, or of a year by three hundred, threescore, odd days, and minutes. But this by the way; the reader may find more for his satisfaction in good commentators upon these words of Daniel, chap. viii. 26: *And the vision of the evening and the morning which was told is true*, &c.

11. But to return unto my task, which is the unfolding of our Saviour's prediction in Matt. xii: that, as many other prophecies, hath his peculiar mystical sense, whose explication must be grounded upon the former literal sense, as it hath been now explained. For that he should be interred in the grave in part of the sixth day, and there remain in the residue of it, and all the sabbath or seventh day, and for a great part of the first day, or of the first evening and morning, wants not a peculiar, yea a triple mystery. For the illustration whereof, it will not be amiss to premise the sweet harmony between the six days of the world's creation, by the consecration, death, and passion of 1089
Him by whom it was first made. As there was a week of creation which could not be foreshadowed by any time precedent; so there was a solemn week appointed for redemption foreshadowed, partly by the week of creation and God's rest from his works, partly by the week of Aaron's consecration, and his accomplishment of it upon the eighth day. To parallel the acts or works of every day, whether of the week of the first creation, or of the week of Aaron's consecration, with the like acts or works of *hebdomadæ sanctæ*, or the week of man's redemption by our Saviour's consecration, would be a work more difficult to the undertaker, whether by pen or preaching, than profitable to the auditor or reader. It shall suffice me to exhibit the evangelical cycle from the first day of our Saviour's consecration, which was the first day of the week following, (taking the day as opposed to night or evening,) or of the time interjacent betwixt the great feast of the passion and the pentecost following.

12. Upon the first day of that week wherein our redemption was wrought our Saviour came in triumphant manner into Jerusalem, not only to fulfil

the prophecy of Zechariah, before expounded at large[k], (for that might have been fulfilled at any other time or day for its substance,) but to testify withal that he was the true paschal Lamb appointed for the sacrifice of that great feast; that Lamb of God which came to take away the sins of the world. For upon that very day of the month Abib, were it the tenth or ninth, in which our Saviour came to Jerusalem, saluted with echoing cries of *Hosanna to the Son of David*, was the legal paschal lamb, according to first institution of the passover, brought out of the fields unto the place appointed for the public assembly with greater pomp, perhaps, and solemnity prescribed by custom, than was expressly required in the law. Upon the fifth day of this sacred week, being, as I take it, the 14th of the month Abib, our Saviour, being to be offered in sacrifice at the time wherein the paschal lamb was eaten by several families, did eat the passover with his disciples, and preoccupated the usual day for eating the paschal lamb, upon necessity. In the night following, which was the evening of the sixth day, he was apprehended and arraigned; in the morning of the same day condemned by the Jews, and upon their solicitation adjudged by Pilate to be crucified, and executed by the Roman soldiers. In the sixth day, or, which is all one, the sixth evening and morning of the first week of time's succession, God is said to have finished the works of creation by making the first man. In the sixth day, or in the sixth evening and morning of the week of our Saviour's consecration, He by whom the world was made did solemnly declare the work of our redemption to be accomplished, in respect of any labour, work, or pains to be further undertaken by him: for

[k] See p. 21. &c. of this volume.

so far his solemn proclamation upon the cross extends, *Consummatum est.* And so he went into his rest upon the same day, about the same hour, wherein God was said to rest from all his works of creation; that is, in the close of that day, a little before the evening of the seventh day or sabbath.

CHAP. XLI. 1090

A Parallel between the Day wherein Adam is thought to have been cast out of Paradise, with the Day wherein our Saviour was crucified; and between the first Day of the World's Creation and our Saviour's Resurrection.

THERE is a tradition, or rather a received opinion, avouched by many good authors in their several writings, that Adam the first man should fall and forfeit his estate in paradise upon the same day wherein he was created. The opinion itself we cannot disprove, nor justly suspect to be a mere conjecture, because we know not what warrant the first or immediate authors of this doctrine had to commend it to posterity. But their language, I take it, is much mistaken by some later schoolmen; the first author's meaning or expression of it must be limited or rather extended to the same sense or construction as hath been before observed[1], in the like words of Daniel, chap. vii, that Belshazzar was slain in the same night wherein (after his carousing in the bowls of the sanctuary) the handwriting was seen upon the wall; or that other, 2 Kings[m], that Sennacherib's mighty army was discomfited upon the night immediately following that day wherein he sent that blasphemous message unto

[1] In the sixth book upon the Apostles' Creed.

[m] Chap. xix. 35: *And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went out, and smote* &c.

Hezekiah, or the day wherein Isaiah returned his message to the good king. In both places, *the same night* cannot be understood of the selfsame natural day and night, but of the same night or day after the revolution of one year or more. In like manner, the first man, according to the tenor of the former received opinion, did fall upon the same day wherein he was created, yet not upon the same day numerically, individually, or identically taken, but upon the same day after the revolution of a week at least or more, that is, upon the sixth day, and thrust out of paradise before the sabbath ensuing, for his stealth or presumptuous usurpation of the forbidden fruit. Upon the same day, after revolution of many years, the Son of God, or second Adam, now consecrated to be a quickening spirit, did restore the sons of the first Adam to their inheritance which their father had lost, by giving a true natural son of the first Adam, a thief by practice, *liverie de seisin*, or actual possession of the celestial paradise. The bequest or legacy was punctual and solemn: *Amen dico tibi, Hodie mecum eris in paradiso —Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise.* Upon the sixth day of the first week, or week of creation, or vicissitude of times, Adam's body was taken out of the substance of the earth; upon the same sixth day was the body of the second Adam, the Son of God, shut up into the bowels of the earth, after he had commended his spirit into his Father's hands which had given it him. That temporal curse denounced against the first Adam—*In the day wherein thou eatest, thou shalt die the death*—was exactly now fulfilled in the second Adam: for in the sixth day of the week of his consecration he died the death of the cross, and was delivered to the earth whence the first man was taken; only he was not to

be resolved to dust, but rested there without corruption. For as God had rested the seventh day from his works of creation, though not of preservation; so the Son of 1091
God was to rest from all his labour or toil upon the seventh day of the week of his consecration, not only to bless and sanctify that day, and make it his own, but withal to hallow the grave or the womb of the earth (whence all flesh was taken, and by the course of nature must return) by his sweet rest and presence in it. So saith St. John: *I heard a voice from heaven saying—Blessed are the dead which hereafter die in the Lord—Even so, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours, and their works follow them.* Rev. xiv. 13. Their sleep or quiet rest in the grave, thus hallowed by our Saviour's death and rest in it, becomes the evenings or vespers of their everlasting sabbath.

2. The night immediately following the legal sabbath wherein our Saviour did rest from all his labours, was part of the first evening and morning, or of the first natural day of the week: his resurrection upon that day, and at that time of the day, and at that season, implieth a twofold mystery, or the accomplishment of two remarkable divine oracles: first, that of Gen. i. 1, 2: *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep.* The darkness made the evening, and the separation of the light from darkness made the morning of the first natural day. *God* (saith Moses) *divided the light from the darkness, and called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.* As was the condition of this visible world or formless earth, before the creation of light, or the division betwixt it and darkness, such

altogether was the condition or state of the intellectual world before it was new made or redeemed by the Son of God. The corrupted mass of mankind was overspread with darkness, and covered with the mantle of death; but this long darkness became more palpable than that of Egypt, during the time of the Son of God's surprisal, and his inclosure in the region of death. These were the hours wherein it was permitted the powers of darkness to domineer, but these powers were conquered, and the darkness dispelled by his resurrection from death, which was on the same day and at the same hour wherein God the Father by him did first divide darkness from light. From this hour of his resurrection, the night is gone, and the day is come; as many as believe in him raised from death, and adore the Sun of righteousness—*who*, as the apostle saith [n], *having abolished death, brought life and immortality to light*—they are the sons of God, heirs of glory; but such as love darkness more than the light of his gospel, they must remain the sons of darkness and of death. All this, and more, is implied in the circumstance of the time and place which the day and hour of his resurrection had in that holy week, being the first hour of the first day. The other mystery is implied in the circumstance of the time and place which the day of his resurrection held in that solemn feast of unleavened bread.

3. So it fell out by the sweet disposition of God's special providence, that the day of our Saviour's resurrection should for that year fall upon the second day of the feast of unleavened bread, or the morrow after the sabbath of that great solemnity. Now on that precise day the Israelites were peremptorily bound by a strict law to offer up the firstfruits, as ears and

[n] 2 Tim. i. 10.

blades of corn, unto the Lord, Lev. xxiii. 10, 11: *When ye be come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf of the firstfruits of your harvest unto the* 1092 *priest: and he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord, to be accepted for you: on the morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it.* From this peculiar reference or parallel of the circumstance of time between the day of our Saviour's resurrection, and the day appointed for this legal feast of offering the ears of corn, the analogy or parallel between the type and the substance is thus: As the use of the corn was not allowable to the people, until some ears or blades of the same kind were offered up in sacrifice by the priest unto the Lord; so neither could the seed of Adam or of Abraham, or of any man else, (seeing all had been *sown in corruption,*) be either holy or acceptable to the Lord, or partakers of his table or presence, or put on incorruption, until the High Priest of our souls, the Son of God, had offered a sacrifice of the same kind, to wit, a body subject to like mortality as ours are until it was consecrated to glory and immortality by the sufferings of death.

4. All were sanctified, all were reconciled to God by this one oblation of himself, as *the firstfruits of them that sleep.* Yet even such as were upon the day of his resurrection really sanctified, and actually reconciled unto God, (the very apostles themselves,) were not made up or wrought into one body or loaf, till fifty days after, not until that very day wherein the new reaped corn made into bread was solemnly offered and presented to the Lord. Levit. xxiii. 15—17: *And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven sabbaths shall be complete: even unto*

the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days; and ye shall offer a new meat offering unto the Lord. Ye shall bring out of your habitations two wave loaves of two tenth deals: they shall be of fine flour; they shall be baken with leaven; they are the firstfruits unto the Lord. The one holy catholic church, and communion of saints which we profess in our Creed, did not begin to be *in esse*, (as by God's help it shall appear hereafter,) or bear true life, until the effusion of the Holy Ghost; which is the soul of the one holy catholic church, or of the mystical body of Christ: and that was upon the fiftieth day inclusively from the day whereon the ears of corn or sheaf of blades was offered unto the Lord. On that fiftieth day the holy church received the firstfruits of the spirit, it being likewise another solemn day appointed for the legal offering up of the firstfruits.

4. Thus much of the accomplishment of the type of Jonas' imprisonment in the belly of the whale, and of the mysteries contained in those three special days and nights, or evenings and mornings, wherein our Saviour was in the womb of the earth, and the time of his rising again. But the two former queries—first, what our Saviour's abode forty days on the earth from his resurrection to his ascension, or, which is all one, what the sign of Jonas, did portend to this evil and adulterous generation of the Jews; secondly, how the space of his forty days' abode upon the earth after his resurrection was prefigured—are points worth the discussion, and, for aught I know, will make the fittest period of this long work concerning the knowledge of Christ and him crucified.

CHAP. XLII. 1093

That the Sentence proclaimed against Nineveh by the Prophet Jonas was in a full Measure executed upon the adulterous Generation of the Jews, not believing or repenting at our Saviour's preaching.

THAT a state so strong and mighty as Nineveh was then, when Jonas was sent unto it, should upon these or the like brief summons of a foreigner, *Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed*, be so deeply stricken on a sudden with extreme fear of death and ruin; or that a court so dissolute, luxurious, and proud as that court was, should so readily change their soft raiment into sackcloth, and lay aside their perfumes and sweet odours, as the text saith the king himself did, may well seem a greater wonder to a reader *qui ad pauca respicit*, than God almost at any time had wrought in Israel: but the strangeness of the sudden change persuades, or rather assures me, or any diligent reader, that the constant fame of Jonas' miraculous deliverance or escape out of the whale's belly had come before him into Nineveh, and made way for the efficacy of his preaching or due entertainment of his embassage. And as Naaman the Syrian, from the experiment of his strange recovery of his health, brake forth into that acknowledgment, *Now I know there is no God in all the world except in Israel;* so these Ninevites did collect, that he who had delivered Jonas from the danger whereinto he had cast him, was able to kill and to give life to whom he pleased: and as they dread his anger for transgressions past, so they conceive hope of mercy upon their true repentance and amendment: but however, it was not so strange that Nineveh upon Jonas' summons should so quickly repent, as wondrous that the Jewish nation should not

repent after this sign of the prophet Jonas was so peremptorily and punctually given them by him that was far greater than Jonas, by a *Prophet* of their own, according to their apprehension in their calmer thoughts, *mighty in word and in deed.* The special points wherein the Ninevites condemn this present generation of scribes and Pharisees are, first, their unpartial diligence in examining the truth of the miracle wrought on Jonas; secondly, their readiness, upon testification of it, to believe God's judgments and his mercies; of which the one did impel or drive, the other gently lead or draw them to repentance.

2. But that which the apostle saith of the Jews in general was remarkably true of this evil and adulterous generation in this particular. They had most grievously displeased God, by putting his only Son to most cruel death, and after they had thus grievously displeased God, they became contrary to all men, to the most grievous sinners of other nations; and in special to these Ninevites, which must rise or stand up in judgment against them. The Ninevites, upon Jonas' preaching or embassage, being ushered or countenanced by the fame of his miraculous deliverance, repented in sackcloth and ashes. To have repented in a more
1094 ample, more deep, or better manner than the Ninevites did, this present generation of the Jews had motives many, all in themselves, or absolutely, more forcible than these heathens had. First, to search more unpartially after the truth of that great miracle wrought by and upon our Saviour Christ, being foreshadowed by the deliverance of the prophet Jonas: he who was much greater, and had been in greater danger than Jonas was, foretold them almost in the beginning of his prophetical function, when he said unto them, desiring of him a sign why he did those things, he

gave them this sign, John ii. 19—*Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.* But this was a kind of riddle unto them, and so it was to his disciples till after his resurrection; for he meant it *of the temple of his body:* but this riddle or enigmatical prediction he vouchsafed at this time to explicate or unfold, not to the vulgar or common sort of people, but unto the scribes and Pharisees, who were the most curious critics or cavilists of the law and prophets, and of the ceremonies, types or shadows contained in them, provoking or inviting them withal by this preamble, *There shall no sign be given to it but the sign of the prophet Jonas,* diligently to observe the parallel between the type or shadow exhibited in the prophet Jonas, and the body or antitype to be exactly accomplished in himself. Some at least of the scribes, of the Pharisees and elders, saw him die or lingering in the pains of death upon the cross: all or most of them, and of this adulterous generation, had the manner of his death, both for circumstance and substance, testified unto them by authentical witnesses. And to prevent all possible occasions of false rumours or impostures which might be procured or attempted by his followers, they provided a band of soldiers to watch or guard his corpse in the sepulchre, during the time prefixed by him for his resurrection. All this notwithstanding, he who commanded the whale to restore the prophet Jonas whom she had swallowed up in the sea, did now command the earth or hard rock, wherein our Saviour's sepulchre was made, to yield up this her prisoner within three days and three nights after his burial, within the time limited and prefigured by Jonas' imprisonment in the fish's belly; and to yield him up, not unto the earth or sea, but unto heaven, whence he descended. The sea was his, and he prepared the dry land; both sea

and land, and all that are in them and upon them, were absolutely and equally at his command and disposal, and so was the heaven of heavens itself. [o] The earth now trembled at his rebuke, and men of war were affrighted at the sight or presence of his heavenly messengers. If these Roman soldiers, or all their legions, had offered the least resistance to his person or to his resurrection, these heavenly soldiers would have fought for him and for his kingdom, which now began to be propagated through the world, though it was told the Roman deputy it was not of this world.

3. All the circumstances which besides these mentioned might be alleged, were they put together and pressed home, might well occasion an half Christian, or diligent reader, or unpartial observer of times and circumstances, rather to suspect the truth of the evangelical story, than fully persuade him that it were possible, either for the Jews to attempt the subornation of the Roman soldiers to testify so gross an untruth as
1095 they did, or for them to yield upon any terms to so foul a temptation. But whether we resolve this spirit of contradiction in these Jews unto their own unrelenting spleen and malice, or unto divine infatuation, or respectively unto both; it would be a task more easy than safe to parallel their stupidity and subtle disposition with the like or worse blindness in many, which verily believe the truth of our Saviour's resurrection, with the circumstances, and would be very ready to confirm their belief of it, and most particular points of faith with their blood. For the light and evidence of divine truth can hardly suffer a total eclipse in any man professing Christianity, no, not in men of spleen-bitten brains; yet many fearful partial eclipses it suffers in

[o] *And for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men.* Matt. xxviii. 4.

these men, in respect of the particulars at which their spleen doth arise or interpose its dismal shade, whilst they are maintained or illustrated by others, whose good parts they envy, or whose persons they hate: but of this argument much hath been spoken before in other meditations, and more, if God permit, may be added in a treatise promised, as the reader may observe in the preface prefixed to the first two books of these Commentaries.

4. But for the Jews, which upon the sight or uncontrollable fame of our Saviour's miracle had traduced him for a conjurer or sorcerer; it was no new wonder in them, either not themselves to believe, or to persuade the Roman soldiers (being first half blinded with bribes) to believe or suspect that his disciples might use some means more than commendable arts or natural skill could afford them, either for astonishing or deluding their senses, or surprising their wits. However, this of the prophet Jonas being the last sign or forewarning which this evil generation was to expect from our Saviour, the consequence of their non-observance, or not repenting after the exhibition of it, was most contrary to this exemplary pattern of the Ninevites' observance of Jonas' embassage, by turning to the Lord in sackcloth and ashes. Judah was now become more contrary to our God, than either her sister Samaria, or than Assyria or Nineveh had been; and God's ways became more contrary unto her and to her children. The Ninevites repenting within the forty days limited for this purpose, God repealed the sentence which he had pronounced against them, although Jonas, who proclaimed it, did murmur or grumble at it. For he expected that the Lord, whose mouth and messenger he was, should at the forty days' end declare him to be a true prophet by putting his sentence in execution.

The Son of God expects as long for the repentance of these Jews, which doubtless would have pleased him much better than their destruction; but seeing they would not repent within the forty days, between his resurrection and ascension, the sentence proclaimed by Jonas against Nineveh proceeds in fullest measure against this wicked and adulterous generation, or degenerate seed of Abraham.

5. But shall we be concluded from these premises to say that Jerusalem and Judah were destroyed immediately upon our Saviour's ascension? No: but this we may safely say, that from the day of his ascension, which was the fortieth day after his resurrection, both the city and nation did, *ipso facto et jure*, incur the sentence of woe denounced against Nineveh by Jonas. And we may further add, that the destruction both of
1096 city and temple, the desolation of Judæa, and miserable dispersion of the Jews throughout the nations, became more necessary and more inevitable, than heretofore they had been; not for the indefinite substance only of the woe denounced, but the very measure of their misery did daily, by the like necessity, increase both for intensive decrees and for extension, especially in respect of the number of persons which did incur the sentence or decree pronounced against them, and of the time or durance of the matter of woe denounced in it. Yet were none of these necessary, but by their continuance in their forefathers' sins, and by not repenting of them, and by the daily increase of their own and their children's sins.

6. During the time of these forty years after our Saviour's ascension, the city and state had a possibility of being freed *a tanto*, though not *a toto*, though not simply from destruction, yet from such fearful desolation as afterwards befell them. But continuing

as impenitent all these forty years, as they had done for the forty days before his ascension; the sentence within forty years after his resurrection began to be put in execution, according to the strict tenor of our Saviour's prediction, Luke xix. 41—44. During the time of these forty days, God's judgments did lay siege against Jerusalem; but the Son of man, Christ Jesus, yet conversing as man here upon earth, did bear off the punishments due to their iniquity, as Ezekiel, entitled and in type *the son of man*, had before prefigured, chap. iv. 6: *Thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee each day for a year.* See vv. 1, 2. And thus at the end of forty years after our Saviour's resurrection, (allotting a year for every day of his abode on earth) the city and temple were destroyed. This calendar of a day for a year was no new or uncouth account to this people, either in the days of Ezekiel, or at the time of our Saviour's ascension; it was a calendar of God's own making, as we may read, Numb. xiv. 33—35: *Your children shall wander in the wilderness forty years, and bear your whoredoms, until your carcases be wasted in the wilderness. After the number of the days in which ye searched the land, even forty days, each day for a year, shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years, and ye shall know my breach of promise. I the Lord have said, I will surely do it unto all this evil congregation, that are gathered together against me: in this wilderness they shall be consumed, and there they shall die.* The people were gathered against God, when they were gathered against Joshua and Caleb, *and bade stone them with stones*, ver. 10. And the glory of the Lord which then appeared in the tabernacle of the congregation before all the children of Israel, had now more

personally and visibly appeared in the man Christ Jesus, and yet how oft were they ready to stone him to death! The former people, for their rebellion, were to die in the wilderness, without hope of seeing the promised land.

7. For the rebellion of this latter generation (specially after the glory of God was now revealed by his resurrection) Jerusalem, according to Micah's prophecy, was to become an heap of stones; and Zion, the beauty of the whole nation, was to be ploughed like a field; and the mountain of the house, which was the glory of Zion, was to become as the high places of the forest, a
1097 more ghastly wilderness than that wherein their fathers wandered. The cause of God's plague denounced Numb. xiv. was that generation's credulity to believe the report of the other spies concerning the land of Canaan, contrary to the good report which Caleb and Joshua had made of it. And the cause why this generation were to die of a more fearful plague in Jerusalem, and why Jerusalem was to become an heap, was their distrust unto the promise concerning the kingdom of heaven, (whereof the land of Canaan, in her highest prosperity, was but a map,) avouched by John Baptist the preacher of repentance, and by Jesus the Son of David, which had viewed it, and presented the fruits of it unto them. And for this their distrust, as their fathers had wandered forty years in the wilderness, and never admitted to the land of Canaan; so this rebellious generation had forty years' time before they were cast out of the earthly Jerusalem, never to be admitted into New Jerusalem which came down from heaven.

CHAP. XLIII.

That place of Zechariah, xiv. 3, *expounded, shewing that God did fight with the Gentiles against the Jews, as formerly he had done with the Jews against the Gentiles. How the forty Days of Christ's abode upon Earth after his Resurrection was foretold.*

THIS wrath of God against Jerusalem was foretold by the prophet Zechariah, chap. xiv. 1, 2. 4. *Behold, the day of the Lord cometh*, saith the prophet, *and the spoil shall be divided in the midst of thee*; that is, her enemies should not come against her as *reivers* or *boothalers*, which dare not stay to divide the spoil where they catch it, but as full conquerors, as it followeth, ver. 2: *For I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle; and the city shall be taken, and the houses rifled, and the women ravished*, &c. The contexture of this chapter (as the most learned commentators upon it do confess) is very perplexed, and yet in my opinion made so, partly by the somnolency of translators, and incogitancy of interpreters, or paraphrastical expositors of it. Leaving the discussion of most particulars in it unto the learned critics or sacred philologers, I shall endeavour to unfold one perplexity or knot, which hath been rather drawn closer or cast harder by most modern interpreters, than Eusebius or the ancient Greek writers did leave it. The knot or rub is in ver. 3: *Then shall the Lord go forth and fight*, בגוים *amongst*, or *in the midst of the nations;* and ariseth from the ambiguous or various importance of the Hebrew particle or preposition *beth*, which in composition admits as great a multiplicity of opposite or contrary senses, as the Latin preposition *in* or the Greek particle *alpha* doth, both which are sometimes privative, or purely negative, sometimes vehemently

affirmative: as in that or other like speech, *Quod dixi*
1098 *indictum volo;* the word *indictum* is a mere negative and equivalent to *non dictum*, and implies a "revoking" or "repealing" of what was said; otherwhile the same *indictum* implies a peremptory declaration or denunciation, be it of war or controversy, &c. The Greek *alpha* admits more variety; sometimes it is στερητικὸν, a privative or pure negative, as τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα, "gifts no gifts;" sometime ἐπιτατικὸν, an augmentative, as ἄξυλος ὑλὴ, "a very thick wood," or "a wood full of trees;" sometimes again more than so, an augmentative or intensive implication of the contrary, or that which it seems to deny; as ὁ ἄνομος, is not only "a lawless man," or one that knows not the law, but one extremely opposite to all good laws; the epitheton or synonymum to ὁ ἀντίχριστος, "the greatest enemy of Christ or of his laws." The Hebrew particle or preposition ב, sometimes equivalent to על, "contrary," or "against;" sometimes no more than *cum*, *in*, *intra*, or *infra*, "within," or "amongst," as in that speech of Balaam, Numb. xxiii. 23, *There is no enchantment bejacob*, most now render it *against Israel*, though some heretofore have rendered it, *There is no enchantment to be found in Israel.* The sense in the Vulgar Latin is ambiguous, because it is uncertain whether *Israel* be the accusative or ablative case; if the accusative, as some express it, *in Israelem*, it may be as much, according to the author of the Vulgar Latin's meaning, as *adversus Israelem—against Israel*, which is the most probable sense of that place. However, the most usual signification of the same particle is no more than the Latin *in* or *intra*, or other variations of it, according to the nature of the subject wherein it is used. The like variation of the Hebrew *beth*, especially when it is prefixed to the infinitive mood, ariseth from

the different parts of time unto which it refers; as in the title of the third psalm, entitled unto David, בברחו מפני אבשלים—that is, verbatim, *in ipso fugere, vel fugiendo,* or *dum fugeret,* "in his flying" or "in his flight," or, as our English renders it, "when he fled from his son Absalom." But in that petition of Naaman the Syrian, for absolution from the Lord, (unto whose service he tied himself by vow, by the mouth of his prophet,) the same particle, though a prefix to the infinitive mood, hath another aspect, neither to the time present or future, but to the time past; *In this thing the Lord pardon thy servant beboa adoni,* not, *when my master goeth,* but, *in that when my master hath gone into the house of Rimmon, he hath leaned on my hand, and I have bowed myself in the house of Rimmon,* that is, *I worshipped in the house of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing.* That this was a supplication for sins past, not a dispensation for doing the like, is apparent from the prophet's answer unto it, *Go in peace,* which was the solemn form of absolution used by the ancient Hebrews, and by our Saviour himself. When the same particle *beth* denotes a place or person, it is equivalent to the Latin adverb *intus* or *in,* as *bemidber* is no more than *in* or *within the wilderness.* And so to trust *Baihovah* or *Laihovah,* is no more nor less than *to trust in the Lord.* The same particle *beth* in many other places is equivalent to the particle *le,* and in this sense it must, both from the necessity of the matter, and from circumstances precedent and consequent, be taken in this ver. 3, *I will fight in,* or *amongst,* not *against these nations.*

2. As in the place of the psalmist, psalm lxxiv. 14: *Thou brakest the heads of leviathan in pieces, and gavest him to be meat to the people* לציים *in the* 1099 *wilderness.* The same particle *le* is as much as *in* or

within; for by *the people in the wilderness*, the psalmist means such ravenous land creatures as wolves, foxes, and the like, or amphibious, as use to prey upon the carcasses, or bodies forsaken by the sea wherein they were drowned, or cast upon the shore, as Pharaoh and his mighty host were, whose death, besides the strangeness or suddenness of it, was disgraceful and terrible to all spectators. For לציים is equipollent to *bemidber* in its formal signification, only the word denotes a more solitary and dry place than the wilderness doth, which perhaps was the reason why the Septuagint translate this place τοῖς λαοῖς Αἰθίοψι, *to the Ethiopian people;* whether by that they understood men or crocodiles, or other like monsters of Ethiop or Afric, is uncertain. Arias Montanus renders it, *populis solitudini colis*, which, for aught I know, may signify men somewhat more monstrous than the cannibals, which fed upon men's flesh, but whether on men cast upon the shore or no, I cannot tell. To omit other importances or significations of this Hebrew particle *beth*, it must be taken in a sense equivalent to the particle *le*, or to the Latin *cum*, *in*, or *pro*, in this place of Zechariah, chap. xiv. 3.

3. And I cannot but wonder at the incogitancy or oversight of that most learned and ingenious writer Ribera, who having so fair hints and good directions as Eusebius and other ancients alleged by him, for levelling this passage, made rugged by Latin interpreters or translators, forsakes the dexter sense which the Greeks had given, and embraceth the sinister sense of the Latins: the seventy interpreters had rendered the original, Καὶ ἐξελεύσεται Κύριος, καὶ παρατάξεται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐκείνοις, καθὼς ἡμέρᾳ παρατάξεως αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πολέμου—*He*, to wit, the Lord, *will command in chief, and order the battle of the nations which he had*

gathered against Jerusalem: for questionless he did not *call*, or *gather* them *against Jerusalem* to fight for it against them, but for them against it. This version of the original is most consonant to that prediction of the prophet Isaiah lxiii. 10: *He became their enemy, and* הוא נלחם־בם, *fought against them.* The full and just paraphrase of the whole verse is in plain English thus: 'The Lord will as remarkably shew himself to be the Lord of hosts, or the Lord mighty in battle, by fighting for the nations against Jerusalem, as he formerly had done by fighting for Israel against Pharaoh and his hosts, or for Gideon against the Midianites; for Barak and Deborah against Jabin and Sisera, or in other like famous victories which he procured for his people;' unto some one or other of which, most interpreters refer these words, *as in the day of battle,* Zech. xiv. 3. But the adequate or complete object of the literal sense is not one or two, but all the famous victories which the Lord of hosts had bestowed upon his people. And he that will diligently peruse Josephus' History of the Jewish Wars, especially the sixth book, may find as many pregnant documents of God's displeasure and powerful hand against the Jews, and of his peculiar temporal favour towards the nations, under the conduct of Titus, as had been shewed in any one age against the nations, on the behalf of Israel or the Jews.

3. It hath been observed before, that the best commentators upon most prophecies in the Old or New Testament are such historians as did least remember or understand them, or had no other aim or intention, 1100
save only to relate matters of fact unpartially. The best commentary that the ordinary reader shall easily find upon this fourteenth chapter of Zechariah is the forementioned History of Josephus, (lib. 6;) and the

best Mercury or director that I can commend unto him, for finding out the accomplishment of this prophecy according to the literal sense, by the events or occurrences recorded in that history, is Danæus, who, besides the literal explication, is in this particular most orthodoxal for the moral sense of the prophet, concerning God's gracious goodness unto these Jews, in foretelling so long before, from what place the city should be assaulted, and by whom, and in what manner taken. The place from which the city was first assaulted, and the defendants most prejudiced, was clearly foretold by this prophet, ver. 4: *And his feet shall stand in that day upon the mount of Olives, which is before* (or *over against*) *Jerusalem on the east, and the mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof toward the east and toward the west,* &c. This part of the prophecy concerning *the feet of God,* which were to stand upon the mount of Olives, was never before so literally verified as in the day of our Saviour's ascension. Many strange miraculous reports are extant, concerning the print of our Saviour's feet, which continued more than four hundred years after his ascension, (if we may believe traditions anciently recorded,) and poor travellers are made to believe that the print continues the same unto this day. But to let these traditions pass, *tanquam via navis in mari,* certain it is, that whilst our Saviour's feet did, as upon the day of his ascension, stand upon the mount of Olives, the feet of that God of whom the prophet there speaks did stand upon it. Now the time allotted for the Jews' repentance being expired, and peace not made with him before his ascension, the very dust of his feet, much more the print of his feet, did remain as a witness against them. At the same time was that other passage of the prophet, ver. 3, *Then shall the Lord go forth,* to wit, out of Jerusalem,

literally fulfilled. If his feet had not stood upon the mount of Olives as a witness against them, the Roman army had never stood there to execute his wrath upon them. For to omit allegories or forced interpretations concerning the cleaving of the mount of Olives mentioned by the prophet, their conjecture is more than probable, who think the prophecy was literally verified, when the Romans besieged the city, and cast their trenches upon the mount of Olives. The time was now come that the nations were to tread Jerusalem under their feet, and the Jews, which were Christ's enemies, were to become his footstools. These be the issues of his setting his feet upon the mount of Olives, as it concerns Jerusalem and the Jews. Unless the Lord of hosts had set his feet upon mount Olivet to fight for the nations against Jerusalem, it had never come into Titus' head to give command or directions, nor into his soldiers' hearts to put his directions conceived by himself (contrary to the several advisements of his council of war) in execution, by raising that mighty wall mentioned by Josephus (lib. 6. cap. 13.) in the space of three days. His relation concerning the raising of that wall would have been to me incredible, or a lying wonder, unless the prophet Zechariah had foretold it, ver. 4: *And the mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof toward the east and toward the west, and there shall be a very great valley; and half of the mountain shall remove toward the north, and half of it toward the south.* The wall, without question, was 1101
not of stone, for to have attempted that, had been a madness, but at the most, *de cespite vivo*, of earth and turf. Now the digging up of so much earth as would suffice to make a wall of that height, and so many furlongs in length as Josephus describes, would neces-

sarily cause or occasion such a valley as the prophet deciphers.

4. It is well observed by Danæus, and so, I presume, by many others, that Jerusalem should be distressed and exposed to ruin from that place wherein her rulers had apprehended her native King and supreme Lord, as a malefactor, with swords and staves; and that her Lord and God should make her a more miserable prey to the Roman soldiers, than they had made his Son and his followers to the Roman deputy, or such as were under his command. But to parallel the miseries which befell Jerusalem and her children by the rules of divine retaliation, according to all that she had done unto her Lord and King, or to set the exact proportion between Jonas' forewarning to Nineveh, *Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed*, and our Saviour's forewarning unto Jerusalem, *As Jonas was three days and three nights* &c., and the issues or executions of both forewarnings, the one upon Jerusalem for her perpetual non-repentance, the other upon Nineveh for returning to her vomit about forty years after her repentance, within the forty days prefixed by Jonas, would require a large volume. Thus much for the present must suffice for answer unto the former of the two queries last proposed; to wit, what our Saviour's abode forty days here on earth, after his resurrection, did portend.

5. The second was, how these forty days of his abode here on earth, after his resurrection, were forepictured or foretold?

6. This second query is in part already answered in the explication of the sign of Jonas; for as he expected forty days what should become of Nineveh, so our Saviour did respite the solemn declaration of Jerusalem's

doom as many days. Nor can I mislike their opinion who think that the forty days intervenient betwixt the hour of his resurrection and ascension were prefigured by his forty days fasting in the wilderness after his baptism, as that questionless was by Moses fasting forty days and forty nights in the mount. Moses did then bear, as himself doth witness, the iniquities of the people, to wit, as in the type; but our Saviour, as well in that long fast after his baptism, as in the forty days after his resurrection, did bear their and our sins really, and according to the mystical and complete meaning of Moses' words.

7. But if we should descend unto more exact search of the particular circumstances of time, as it includes the day of his resurrection and ascension, with the other thirty-eight days intervenient; these were most punctually and admirably foreshadowed and represented by the day of his first birth from the womb, and by the day of his blessed mother's purification, and his presentation in the temple in Jerusalem.

8. Inasmuch as all the firstborn are called *holy unto the Lord*, and God requires them expressly of his people, Exodus xxii. 29: *The firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me*—this did imply that there 1102
should be some one firstborn amongst them that were born of women, in whom the light and life of holiness, that holiness itself, of which all the legal titles of holiness were but shadows or glimmerings, should reside or be incorporated as light in the body of the sun. Now that Jesus the Son of Mary was this firstborn in whom the true and complete holiness did thus reside, the Holy Ghost did declare or proclaim by the mouth of Simeon, at that very time wherein our Saviour, according to the law of the firstborn, was to be presented unto the Lord in his temple, to wit, the time of

his mother's purification. *Simeon*, saith St. Luke, *came by the Spirit into the temple: and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law, then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel. And Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him. And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel; and for a sign which shall be spoken against.*

9. They, good souls, came not to the temple with any such intent or expectation, but to observe the law of the firstborn male, as St. Luke tells us, ch. ii. 22, 23, 24: *And when the days of her purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord; (as it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord;) and to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, A pair of turtle doves, or two young pigeons.* The ordinary offering which the law in like case did require, was a lamb, as you may read, Levit. xii. 6, yet with this express dispensation, that if the party were not able to offer a lamb, two turtle doves or two young pigeons should suffice. The blessed Virgin, whether by reason of her husband's poverty, or (as I rather think) by reason she was delivered of her Son in a strange place, without the country or province wherein she dwelt, was content to use the benefit of this dispensation.

10. But though our Saviour had this peculiar prero-

gative of the firstborn, that he was most holy unto the Lord, and although, as he said at his baptism, it became him to fulfil all legal righteousness, yet it is questionable whether he were redeemed as other firstborn were. The sacrifice mentioned by St. Luke was ordinary at every woman's purification, whether the child brought forth were male or female. As for our Saviour, of all firstborn he only needed no legal redemption, because he was destinated from his birth not to be redeemed, but to be offered up in sacrifice for the redemption of others. And in this he did fulfil that legal rite or shadow of redeeming those useful creatures which were by the law unclean, by the sacrifice of such as by the law were accounted clean. Exod. xiii. 11, 12.

11. But was he exempted by any more peculiar right from the law of redemption, than the blessed Virgin his mother was from the law of purification? To this demand it might be answered, that the blessed Virgin was not free from all taint of original sin as he was. But this reply or answer being admitted, it 1103
would be a foul heresy, or worse than so, to say that she was either legally or naturally unclean, during all or any part of the time of her separation from the sanctuary or holy assembly, for she was free from any actual sin in the time or manner of her conception, and from all legal uncleanness, either in her travail or for forty days after it: otherwise that Holy One which was born of her might have been conceived, or brought forth, or nourished by her milk in her uncleanness, which to avouch or conceive were foul blasphemy. Was her observation then of the law concerning purification either a will-worship or affected work of supererogation? Rather an excellent pattern, or exemplary rule of obedience, unto all the sons and daughters of

Adam that desire or intend to be the sons and daughters of Abraham. The rule is, that even such of either sex as know themselves not to be conscious of the occasions, nor much liable to the temptations which public laws or sacred canons seek to prevent or restrain from bursting out into matter of fact, shall do both wisely and religiously if they submit themselves to the observance of such decrees or injunctions as are useful or needful for most other men to observe. For it well becomes and behoves the most strong and sound members of any body natural or civil, of Christ's mystical body especially, to sympathise, thus far at least, with unsound or decaying parts of the same body, as to restrain themselves from using that liberty, which they for their own parts might safely enjoy, were the object or matter prohibited void of danger unto other members of the same society, which have more forcible temptations to the contrary, or want skill or knowledge how to use their general liberty.

12. But to conclude the point last proposed, and with it this present treatise. When the evangelist saith that the blessed Virgin, with consent of her betrothed husband, *brought her Son into the temple, according to the law of Moses*, it is clear that she did not come to present herself or him in the temple before the fortieth day from his birth: for so the tenor of the law concerning the firstborn males is, that his mother should be seven days unclean, to wit, unto the day of her son's circumcision, and thirty-three days after it, accounting the day of his circumcision for one of these days.

13. The parallel before proposed lies directly between these four points or terms of proportion: the first, the day of our Saviour's birth from his mother's womb; the second, the day of the blessed Virgin's

purification, or the solemnity of his presentation in the temple; the third, the day of his birth from the grave, or of becoming the firstfruits of them that sleep; the fourth, the day of his presentation to his Father in the heavenly sanctuary, or of his enthronization both as King and Priest. Upon the fortieth day after his birth from the womb of the blessed Virgin, *Simeon blessed Mary and Joseph; and Anna the daughter of Phanuel, a prophetess, coming at that instant into the temple, gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption.* Luke ii. 34—38. Upon the fortieth day after his birth from his maiden-grave, the prophecy of Simeon and Anna, and their thanksgiving to the Lord, were more exquisitely accomplished than can by any mortal voice or pen be expressed. As the legal sabbath was to the Lord's day, so was the fourth day of the first week, on which the sun, moon, and stars were created, but the vespers unto the new creation, wherein the Lord of 1104
glory and Sun of righteousness was placed in his supercelestial sphere. On the first day of that week in which he ascended, that joy of the fourth day of the first creation deciphered by Job, *The morning stars did sing together, and all the sons of God* (the holy angels and archangels, cherubims and seraphims, principalities and powers) *did shout for joy*, was accomplished. The ditty or manner of their song or joyful shout is unexpressible, uninvestigable. God grant we may in this mortal pilgrimage so demean ourselves, as that we may be able to stand before the Son of man at his second coming unto judgment, and be capable and docile to learn our parts in that heavenly ditty or song wherewith the church triumphant did entertain him at his ascension!

END OF VOL. VIII.